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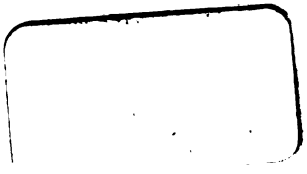

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Organization of Work

By

LOUIS BLANC

Translated from the *First Edition* by

MARIE PAULA DICKORÉ, A.M.

Sometime D.A.R. Fellow in American History
University of Cincinnati

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI
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To
Merrick Whitcomb, Ph. D.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

The author of this interesting little book, Jean Joseph Charles *Louis Blanc,* was born far from the scene of his life work in Madrid, October 29, 1811.[1] His father, Jean Charles, had suffered by the Reign of Terror and fled to Spain where he served as General Inspector of Finance under Joseph Bonaparte. He had married Estella Pozzo di Borgo and their two children were Jean and Charles. Soon after the family returned to France during the Restoration, their circumstances became so straightened that Louis was thrown upon the world to earn his own way.

The pittance received from private lessons and clerking in an attorney's office was not sufficient so Blanc accepted, in 1832, a position as tutor in Arras in the family of a manufacturer, Halette, who employed more than 300 workmen.[2] Here Blanc not only attended to his profession but made observations which sowed the seed for his future career. He talked with the workmen and studied their life and conditions; he endeavored to teach them and saw with pleasure how eager they were to educate themselves. Thus he had the opportunity of studying at close range conditions which heretofore had been strange to him and which now formulated in his mind the sketch for the interpretation of life which he later enlarged upon and made such great use of in his famous work.[3]

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1. Various dates are given but I have accepted October 29, 1811, on the authority of "Le Grande." Warshauer has October 28, while among others Daniel Sterne (Madame d'Agoult) *Histoire de la Révolution* and Quack, *De Socialisten,* make a mistake of two years, giving 1813 as the year of Blanc's birth. Golliet gives still another, 1812.

2. Warshauer, Otto—*Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Socialismus,* part III, pp. 237, Louis Blanc, Berlin 1903.

3. Golliet, (*Louis Blanc, sa doctrine—son action, Paris,* 1903), claims that the difficulties which Blanc experienced before he went to Arras turned his thoughts to reflections on and criticisms of the social organization; also that Flaugergues, a friend and compatriot of the Blanc family told Louis about his experiences in the world of politics and thus laid the foundation of the ideas later developed by Blanc.

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Arras was not only the birthplace of his socialistic, but also of his journalistic career, for two of his poems, *Sur Mirabeau* and *Eloge de Manuel,* were awarded prizes by the Arras academy and local newspapers published other bits from his pen. In 1834 he returned to Paris, wrote for various papers and finally in 1837 became the editor of the *Bon Sens.* The impressions received in Arras first came to light in this *Bon Sens.* He pointed out the evil effect of free competition on the working classes and went even so far as to devote a portion of his paper to all working men's news. However, this happy labor was not to exist long. Blanc disagreed with the publishers because they were not in harmony with his ideas and the final break came when he demanded that the building of railroads be conducted by the state and not by private corporations.

This break, however, did not crush his dauntless spirit. In 1839 he founded the *Revue du Progrès, politique et litteraire,* a magazine appearing every month and in which he could give his ideas free scope. He pointed out the corruption of the bourgeoisie in France; violently attacked the rights of the nobility; warmly recommended the introduction of equal suffrage and made a plea for the proletarian and his material welfare.[4] The best product of this journalistic freedom was the series of articles, appearing in 1839 which, receiving so much applause throughout France, were published in pamphlet form, September, 1840.[5] Of this valuable article nine editions have appeared altogether, the last dated April 15, 1850.

Although Blanc proved himself a writer of no mean ability in his later productions *(Histoire de dix ans, Histoire de la Révolution française),* this *Organization du Travail* is a little masterpiece showing the author to be a clear thinker, a fine idealist, possessed of a versatile, brilliant style with which to clothe his arguments and illustrate them by animated depictions of poverty and destitution. He set forth[6] the evils inherent in the

4. Warshauer; pp. 239.

5. Many writers have said that the pamphlet was published in 1841 but my copy of the first edition is dated September, 1840.

6. Warschauer—The fundamental principle of the *Organization du Travail* is: all free competition must be destroyed because it does not combine harmoniously but disseminates the activities of each individual; being for the masses an unbearable condition of suffering and being also the cause of the antagonism which necessarily must exist between all producers and all consumers.

Blanc was certain that through free competition individual interest grows into a rapacious craving and that in the pursuit of

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social conditions and the sufferings of the laboring class, due to insufficient wages, in order to demonstrate that a strict regulation of labor is necessary; for he held that individualism and free competition will ruin both the laboring class and the bourgeoisie. To this end he advocated the idea that the government should own the greater industries and establish national workshops in which each man would receive according to his needs and contribute according to his abilities. The state would then, through self-production cripple all other competitors and finally become the only maintenance of society. Blanc was a defender of the right of existence and an opponent of any income without work—especially of interest on capital.

The little book created such a stir among the laboring classes that the organization of work became the problem to be solved by the February Revolution, 1848, and as Blanc was a member of the Provisional Government, also president of the commission for the discussion of the labor problem,[7] it was decided to give his plan a trial and National Workshops were established February 27, 1848. However, so many applied for work in these *ateliers* that each one could work only about every fourth day though receiving pay. Thousands of unemployed stormed Paris in search of this Eldorado so that a halt had to be called on the great wave of immigration of undesirable population by means of unfair decrees, with the result that Blanc did not see his plans accomplished owing to mismanagement by those in charge and harsh measures in reducing the number of applicants. As these *ateliers* were purposely not planned and equipped at the start according to Blanc's theories, they were a failure, brought about the June insurrection, and caused Blanc's flight to England. His scheme was not practicable in his day, for he was, like many another genius, far ahead of his time; he understood the ills of society and saw a fit remedy of which, however, years of patient application would be necessary in order to overcome the deep-rooted evils.

Thus we see that Louis Blanc was the founder of this national workshop theory, but not the active leader in the revolu-

wealth he who amasses riches strides victoriously over the ruins of others and builds up his own fortune out of the shattered fragments.

7. Much for the betterment of the working classes was really accomplished by this commission; a ten hour day in Paris and an eleven hour day in the provinces; abolished the "marchandage;" settled strikes, abolished the competition of prison labor, etc.

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tion of 1848, only the suggestive power. Though his practical work failed, his ideas have lived on and have been adopted by various bodies of socialists, especially the German school, which reached its height in Karl Marx.

The years 1848-1870 Blanc spent in England where he wrote his twelve volume *History of the French Revolution.* After the fall of the Empire, he returned to Paris in 1870 and in 1871 was elected to the National Assembly. He died at Cannes, December 6, 1882.

The ninth edition, 1850, is divided into four parts: Part I, called *Industry,* contains the original material with many additions; Part II, *Agriculture;* Part III, *Literary work,* which appeared as early as the fourth edition, 1845; Part IV, *Credit,* also answers to many charges made against statements in the first edition. Each part shows that its special branch of labor, too, must be controlled by the State in order that Free Competition may not bring about its ruin.

This study will set forth a translation of the first edition only.

I wish to express my great appreciation of the kind assistance rendered by Adolph Ebel, Universität Marburg, to whom I am indebted for a copy of the rare first edition without which I could not have made this translation; to Miss Mary C. Gallagher for a careful and critical reading of the manuscript; to N. D. C. Hodges, Cincinnati Public Library, Wm. H. Bishop, Library of Congress, and Walter Smith, University of Wisconsin Library, for the loan of valuable books. To Professor Merrick Whitcomb, however, I owe the inspiration for this task and by inscribing this book to him I wish to express my sincere gratitude.

Marie Paula Dickoré

Cincinnati, 1910

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This work has been especially written for the *Revue du Progrès* in which it has been published serially.

Some laborers have thought that under the actual circumstances it would be good to give more publicity to it than was possible through the circulation of the *Revue du Progrès*.

The agitation shown in the last few days is the symptom of a profound evil.

That the police might be concerned in the movement in order to ruin it, is possible. But to make it depend solely upon some foul tricks would be to slander without reason the people of Paris.

The workmen of Paris do not rise to instigate civil war but to demand justice. To confront them with millions of bayonets is a childish and useless expedient.

Once again, the evil is deep rooted; it demands a prompt remedy. To find that remedy should be the mission of the powerful; to seek it, the duty of every good citizen.

September, 1840.

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CHAPTER I

THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

The institution of modern society rests principally on two men, the one acts as a figure head, the other as headsman. The hierarchy of the old school of politics begins with the king and ends on the gallows.

When the workingmen of Lyons rose, saying, give us bread or kill us, we were very ~~much~~ embarrassed by this demand. As it seemed too difficult to support them, we strangled them.

By this means order was reestablished.

However, the question is to make up your mind whether you are willing to try such bloody experiments. How you would be hated, should you decide on such a dangerous measure. Every delay conceals a storm.

Is not all Paris in a state of excitement as I am writing these lines? Why these numerous meetings of laborers in the different parts of the capital? Why these detachments of cavalry, which patrol our boulevards in a menacing manner? But, God be praised, this time the press is a little less excited. It has been speaking of these agitations in the same serious manner as if the journey of a princelet or a horse race were in question. Let us take courage! We are entering upon the way of progress. But know well, gentlemen, where the first step leads. You speak of solving problems? From today on a solution will be an imperious necessity. Moreover, what are we waiting for? Has the epic of modern industry further mournful episodes to relate? The recent unfortunate events in Nantes, the riot in Niemes, the massacre in Lyons, the many bankruptcies in Milan, the embarrassments of all money-markets, the troubles in New York, the rise of chartism in England, are not these solemn and formidable warnings abroad? Is it not because so many fortunes are crumbling, because so much gall is mixed with the joy of the rich, so much wrath swelling the heart of the poor man under his rags?

I ask, who really is interested in the maintenance of the economic conditions of today? No one at all; neither the rich nor the poor, neither the master nor the slave, neither the tyrant nor

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the victim. As for me, I am perfectly convinced that the suffering which is produced through an imperfect civilization is distributed in various forms over the whole of society. Let us look at the life of the rich man; it is filled with bitterness. And why? Is he not in good health? Is he no longer young? Are women and flatterers wanting to him? Does he doubt that he has friends? No, his misery is, that he has reached the end of his enjoyments, his unhappiness is, that he has no further desires. The inability to enjoy, as the result of satiety, that is the poverty of the rich — a poverty without hope. How many of those whom we call happy plunge into a duel because of a longing for excitement, how many seek the dangers and toil of the hunt to escape the tortures of idleness? How many, hurt through their sensitiveness, suffer from secret wounds in the midst of an apparent happiness and sink gradually below the surface of the general suffering, side by side with those who throw life away like a bitter fruit; those who cast it aside like a squeezed lemon! What social disorder is not revealed by this great moral disorder! What a severe lesson to egotism, to pride, to every kind of tyranny that this inequality in the means of enjoyment ends in the equality of anguish.

To every poor person who is pale from hunger there is a rich one who grows pale from fear. "I do not know," said Miss Wardour to the old beggar who had saved her, "what my father will do for our rescuer, but he will certainly secure you against every want for the rest of your life. Accept for the present this trifle." "That I may be robbed of it or murdered, when I wander at nights from place to place," answered the beggar, "or at least be in constant fear of it, which is hardly better. Ah! and besides, who would be fool enough to give me alms if he saw me change a banknote?"

Admirable reply! Walter Scott is in this not only a novelist but he proves himself to be a philosopher as well as a socialist. Who is the unhappier of the two, the blind man who hears the begged coin ring in the cup which his dog guards, or the mighty king who groans when a dower is refused his son?

If a thing is true philosophically is it any less true economically? Thank God! for society there is neither a partial progress nor a partial decline. The *whole* society rises, or falls. When justice is exercised, *all* have the advantage, when right is obscured, the *whole* suffers. A people in which one class is suppressed

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resembles a man who has a wounded leg. The injured leg prevents him from using the good one. This sounds paradoxical, the oppressor and the oppressed gain equally by the removal of oppression; they lose equally by its maintenance. Do we want a more striking proof of this? The bourgeoisie has built its sovereignty upon free competition—the basis of tyranny; alas! we see today the decline of the bourgeoisie through this free competition. I have two millions, you say, my competitor has only one; in the arena of industry, armed with the advantages of the lowest price, I shall certainly ruin him. Coward and fool! Do you not see that some merciless Rothschild, armed with your own weapons, will ruin you tomorrow! Then, how could you have the effrontery to complain? The large tradesman, in this wretched system of daily struggles, has already swallowed up his smaller competitor. What a Pyrrhic victory! For behold this larger tradesman is swallowed up in his turn by the great operator who, himself forced to seek new customers at the ends of the world, will begin to play a game of chance, which, like all games, will bring some of its players to crime, others to suicide. Tyranny is not only hateful, but it is also stupid. No intelligence can exist where there is no consideration for others.

Then let us prove:

1. That competition is for the people a system of extermination.
2. That competition is an ever present cause of impoverishment and decline of the bourgeoisie.

When we have proven this it will be clear that we shall establish a solidarity of interests and that social reform means salvation for all members of society without exception.

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CHAPTER II

COMPETITION IS FOR THE PEOPLE A SYSTEM OF EXTERMINATION

Is the poor man a member of society or its enemy? Answer this! He finds the soil everywhere about him already occupied.

May he cultivate the land for himself? No, for the right of the first occupant has become the right of possession.

May he gather the fruits which God has allowed to ripen along the common highway? No, for as the soil so the fruits have been appropriated.

May he hunt or fish? No, for that is a right which the state claims.

May he draw water from a well in a field? No, for the proprietor of the field is, by the law of accretion,[8] also the proprietor of the well.

May he, dying from hunger and thirst, reach out his hand, beseeching the benevolence of his fellow-men? No, for there are laws against begging.

May he, tired and without shelter, stretch his limbs out on the pavement? No, for there are laws against vagabonds.

May he flee from his homicidal fatherland, which denies him everything and endeavor to gain a livelihood far from his birthplace? No, for he is permitted to change his place of abode only under certain conditions, impossible for him to fulfill.

What then shall the unfortunate one do? He will tell you: "I have arms, I have intelligence, I have strength, I have youth, take them all and give me in exchange a morsel of bread." Thus the proletarians speak and act today. But even then your answer to the poor one is: "I have no work to give you." What do you want him to do then? It is very clear that there are but two horns to this dilemma, he can either kill himself or kill you.

---

8. "Accessio—A term of Roman law used to express the acquisition of property by an addition to former property, due to an accidental circumstance. If, for instance, a plot of land on the bank of a river was increased by the gradual deposit of earth on the bank, the property in the new piece of land was said to be acquired by Accessio." From Palgrave, R. H. Inglis, ed., Dictionary of political economy.

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The answer is very simple: *ASSURE* the poor man work. Even with this there is certainly little enough done for justice, and you are still a very long way from the reign of fraternity, but at least you will have removed the necessity for revolt, and his hate is deprived of its justification. Have you already thought of it? When, in order to live, a man offers society his services and then is forced necessarily to attack this same society in order not to die of hunger, he finds himself, although apparently an aggressor, in a state of legitimate defense, and the society which strikes him does not judge him but assassinates him.

The question should be put thus: Is competition a means of ASSURING work to the poor? To put a question of this kind, means to solve it. What does competition mean to workingmen? It is the distribution of work to the highest bidder. A contractor needs a laborer: three apply. "How much do you ask for your work?" "Three francs, I have a wife and children." "Good, and you?" "Two and a half francs, I have no children, but a wife." "So much the better, and you?" "Two francs will do for me; I am single." "You shall have the work." With this the affair is settled, the bargain is closed. What will become now of the other two proletarians? They will starve, it is to be hoped. But what if they become thieves? Never mind, why have we our police? Or murderers? Well, for them we have the gallows. And the fortunate one of the three; even his victory is only temporary. Let a fourth laborer appear, strong enough to fast one out of every two days; the desire to cut down the wages will be exerted to its fullest extent. A new pariah, perhaps a new recruit for the galleys.

Can anyone assert that these conclusions are exaggerated, that they are not possible in all cases in which the amount of work is not sufficient for the poor who want to be employed? I shall ask for my part if competition contains in itself the means of doing away with this murderous inequality. If one industry lacks labor, who will vouch for it that in this immense confusion, caused by a universal competition, some other industry does not suffer a surplus of labor? It would be sufficient to invalidate the principle if only twenty men out of thirty-four millions were driven to be thieves in order to live. Destroy these unhappy ones, I say, and let civilization herself take vengeance upon them for the crime which she has committed against them, but do not mention righteousness any more; and since you refuse to judge your judges, to

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overthrow your courts, raise a temple to violence and drape a veil about the statue of justice.

Who would be blind enough not to see that under the reign of free competition the continuous decline of wages necessarily becomes a general law with no exception whatsoever? Has population limits which it may never overstep? Are we allowed to say to industry, which is subjected to the daily whims of individual egotism, to industry, which is an ocean full of wreckage: "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." The population increases steadily; command the mothers of the poor to be sterile and blaspheme God who made them fruitful; for if you do not command it, the space will be too small for all strugglers. A machine is invented; demand it to be broken and fling an anathema against science! Because if you do not do it, one thousand workmen, whom the new machine displaces in the workshops, will knock at the door of the next one and will force down the wages of their fellow-workers. A systematic lowering of wages resulting in the elimination of a certain number of laborers is the inevitable effect of free competition.

It is nothing but an industrial process by means of which the proletarians are forced to exterminate each other. Finally, in order that the exacting people can not accuse us of having exaggerated the colors of the picture, we give here in figures the condition of the working class of Paris:

WORK OF WOMEN

Occupation	Daily Wages fr. c.	Dead Season Months	Observations
Washerwomen	2 25	4	
Borderers of shoes	75	3	
Other embroiderers	1 50	6	
Burnisher of metal	2 25	4	
Cutter in a printing house	1 00	0	
Veil cutter	90	5	
Flower maker	1 50	4	
Button maker	1 25	4	
Candle maker	1 25	3	
Dressmaker	1 25	6	
Carder of buttons	1 25	5	
Pasteboard worker	1 75	3	
Tinter	1 25	4	
Burnisher of porcelain	1 75	6	
Burnisher of wood	1 25	5	
Stocking weaver	60	0	
Stitcher of straw hats	2 50	6	
Cap maker	1 50	4	
Blanket maker	1 25	4	

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WORK OF WOMEN (Continued)

Occupation	Daily Wages fr. c.	Dead Season Months	Observations
Assistant to goldbeater	1 25	5	
Glove maker	1 50	4	
Vest and pants maker	1 75	6	
Linen seamstress in wholesale houses	90	0	
Milliner	1 25	4	
Polisher of silver and enamel	2 25	6	
Cotton winder	90	3	
Polisher of compasses	1 75	4	
Sorter of feathers	1 00	3	
Shoe pinker	1 50	4	
Gold driller	2 50	6	
Tier of cotton threads	1 00	3	
Presser	2 25	4½	
Dyer	2 50	0	
Vermicelli maker	1 25	3	

WORK OF MEN[9]

Occupation	Daily Wages fr. c.	Dead Season Months	Observations
Gunsmith	3 00	5	
Dresser of straw hats	4 00	7	
Goldbeater	3 50	3	
Butchers' boys	3 00	3	
Baker	4 00	4	
Harness maker	2 25	3	
Gold trinket maker	4 00	6	
Hat maker	4 00	5	
Carpenter	4 00	4	The occupation of Carpenter is dangerous.
Pork butcher	1 00	4	Receive food.
Kettle maker	3 50	4	
Tiler	5 00	4	Dangerous.
Shoe maker	2 50	3	
Cartwright	3 00	5	
Currier	4 00	4	
Cutler	2 75	3	
Carver (wood)	4 00	4	
Confectioner	4 00	6	
Compositor	3 50	3	
Wood gilder	2 50		16 hour day.
Metal gilder		5	Dangerous on account of the mercury.
Cabinet maker	2 50	3	
Tinner	3 75	3	
Type founder	3 50	3	
Founder of copper	4 00	3	Dangerous.
Founder of iron	4 00	3	Each workman has 4 assistants receiving about 2 50.
Blacksmith	4 50	3	
Chimney sweep	4 00	6	
Umbrella maker	3 00	4	
Spectacles maker	3 00	6	

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WORK OF MEN (Continued)

Occupation	Daily Wages fr. c.	Dead Season Months	Observations
Maker of compasses	4 00	4	
Glove maker	4 00		
Watch maker	3 50	4	
Printer	4 00	3	
Printers on cotton	4 50	4	
Box makers	3 50	4	
Lithographers	3 00	3	
Lamp maker	3 00	4	
Cabinet maker	3 00	4	
Furrier	2 50	3	
Marble worker	4 50		
Mason	4 00	4	Day laborers receive 2 50. Boys receive 2 40.
Opticians	3 00	6	
Goldsmith	5 00	6	
Paver	4 00	4	Day laborers receive 2 25.
House painter	3 50	5	
Carriage painter	2 75	5	
Plumber	4 50	4	
Porcelain worker	3 50		
Passementrie worker	3 50	6	
Wig maker	85		Bad food and dwellings.
Book binder	3 00	3	
Saddler	2 75	5	
Locksmith	3 50	4	
Cooper	3 00	3	
Wood turner	3 50	4	
Stone cutter	4 00	4	
Clothing cutter	4 00	6	
Chair turner	4 00	3	
Dyer	3 50	4	
Silk dyer	4 00		
Paper hanger	4 00	4	
Tanner	3 50	4	
Varnisher	4 50	4	

9. Author's note—We are indebted for these statistics, which we have collected with great care in order that no one will be tempted to accuse us of exaggeration, to Messrs. Robert, dyer, 60 Gravilliers Street; Rosier, cane-maker, 33 Sainte Avoie St.; Landry, cabinet-maker, 99 Faubourg St. Martin; Baratre, saddler, 17 Laborde St.; Moreau, clerk, 16 Caire St.

How many tears are represented in every one of these figures, how many cries of anguish! How many violent curses from the depth of the heart! This is the condition of the populace of Paris, the city of science, of arts, the most brilliant capital of the civilized world; a city, whose face shows only too truthfully all the ugly contrasts of a highly praised civilization: beautiful boulevards and dirty streets; brilliantly lighted stores and dark workshops; theaters, in which there is singing, and dark hovels where

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is only weeping; monuments for the conqueror and a corner for the drowned, the Arc de l'Etoile and the morgue!

The attraction which these large cities have for the country people is certainly a remarkable fact; these cities where every moment the riches of some mock the poverty of others. Nevertheless, this fact exists and is only too true: industry is the opponent of agriculture. A periodical devoted to the discussion of the present social conditions recently published these sad lines from the pen of a prelate, the bishop of Strassburg: "The mayor of a little town told me: 'Formerly I paid my laborers three hundred francs, today one thousand francs are scarcely sufficient for the same work. They threaten to abandon our work and go to the factories if we do not agree to pay high wages.' How much will agriculture, the true wealth of a country, suffer under such conditions! Add to this the fact that when commercial credit is unsound, when one of these business houses fails, three or four thousand laborers are suddenly thrown out of employment, are without bread, and fall a burden to the state. For these unfortunates do not know how to save for the future; every week sees the fruit of their toil vanish. How dangerous, in times of revolution, exactly when bankruptcies become more numerous, is the population of starved workingmen, who are suddenly thrown from recklessness into absolute want. They even lack the resource of selling their labor to the farmers; they are not accustomed any longer to the hard work of the fields, their enfeebled arms have no longer the strength for it."

Not enough, that the great cities are centers of extreme misery, but it is further a fact that the population of the country is irresistibly drawn towards these centers which engulf them. And, as if to aid this wretched condition, is it not true that we are building railroads everywhere? For these railroads, which in a prudently governed society, represent an immense progress, are in our own, only a new misfortune. They render desolate the places where labor is lacking and heap up men in those places where many are seeking in vain to get their little place in the sun; they tend to complicate the frightful disorder which they have introduced into the laboring class, into the distribution of work and of products.

We now come to the cities of second rank.

Dr. Guépin has written, in a little booklet, unworthy, I suppose, of being placed in the library of a statesman, the following words:

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"As Nantes takes the middle place between the cities of great industries and commerce such as Lyons, Paris, Marseilles, Bordeaux, and the cities of third rank, the conditions of the laborers are there perhaps more favorable than in any other place, it seems to us that we can not select a better example to illustrate clearly the conclusions to which we must arrive and to give them the character of absolute certainty.

"No one who has not stifled every sense of justice in himself can without great sadness, look upon the immense inequality which exists between the joys and sufferings in the case of the poor laborers; to live, for them, means merely not to die!

"The workingman sees nothing more beyond the crust of bread which he needs for himself and his family, nor beyond the bottle of wine, which for a moment dulls the consciousness of his sufferings, neither does he hope for more.

"Do you want to know how he lives? Then step into one of those streets where misery has huddled them together as the Jews, in the middle ages, were crowded into the quarters to which the prejudice of the people had assigned them. Stoop down if you enter one of these sewers which open on the street and are below the level of the pavement; the air is cold and damp, as in a cellar, your feet slip on the slimy earth, you are afraid of falling into the mud. On each side of the low hall and, consequently, under the ground, you find a dark, large, cold room; from the walls trickles dirty water and only one window gives access to air, too small to let the daylight enter and too poorly made to shut tightly. Open the door and walk in, if the foul air is not too repulsive, but take care, for the uneven floor is neither paved nor flagged, or else the stones are so thickly covered with layers of dirt, that it is impossible to see them. Two or three beds, worm-eaten and shaky, held together with difficulty by pieces of rope; a straw mattress, a ragged cover, seldom washed because it is the only one, perhaps a sheet and a pillow. Behold all that there is of the bed. Wardrobes are not needed in these houses. A spinning wheel and a loom sometimes complete the furnishings.

"On the other floor the rooms are a little drier, a little lighter, but just as dirty and neglected. It is here, that, frequently without fire, these men, during the long winter evenings, work by the light of a flickering pine splinter for fourteen hours a day in order to earn from fifteen to twenty sous.

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"The children of this class live in the dirt of the street up to the moment when they are able to increase by a few pennies the income of their family through tiresome and brutalizing work; pale, swollen, their eyes red, bleared, so eaten away by scrofulous humor that they can scarcely use them, you could believe they came from an entirely different race than the children of the rich. The difference between the adults of the suburbs and those in the richer districts is not so evident—but a horrible process of selection has taken place; only the strong fruits have developed, while many fell from the trees before they were ripe. After twenty years one is strong or dead. We could add many sad instances, but the specification of expenses of this class of society will speak a still more audible language.

Lodging for one family	25	francs.
Washing	12	"
Fuel	35	"
Repairing of furniture	3	"
Moving (at least once a year)	2	"
Shoes	12	"
Clothing (they wear old clothing given them)	0	"
Medicine	free	
Medical attendance	free	

"If a family earns 300 francs per year, according to this, 196 francs will remain for the food of a family of four or five persons who need,[10] with all privations, at least 150 francs for bread. Forty-six francs remain to buy salt, butter, vegetables and potatoes, not to mention meat, the use of which is unknown. If you consider, that the tavern calls for a certain sum, you will admit that the condition of these families is horrible, in spite of the fact that a few loaves of bread are distributed from time to time by charitable institutions."

We have proven with statistics to what excess of misery the application of the cowardly and brutal principle of competition has brought the people. But all this does not say enough. Misery begets something even worse; let us go to the heart of this sad discussion.

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10. It is peculiar that so careful a writer as Blanc should have permitted such an error to stand without comment. It could not have escaped his notice that 89 francs from 300 francs leaves 211 francs, but he did not correct it until a much later edition after his attention had been called to the fact that a footnote was necessary.

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The ancients said, *Malesueda fames*, "hunger is a bad counsellor." A horrible and true saying! But if crime is born of misery, what engenders misery? We shall see directly. Competition is just as fatal to the safety of the rich as to the existence of the poor. For the one ceaseless tyranny, for the other a perpetual threat. Do you know where the greater part of the unfortunates come from who fill the prisons? From some great center of industry. The manufacturing districts furnish to the Grand Jury double the number of accused that is furnished by the agricultural districts. Statistics give on this point arguments to which we have no reply. What are we to think of the present organization of labor, of the conditions which are imposed on it, and the laws which dominate it, if the galleys are recruited from the workshops? Consider, in heaven's name, the terrible words of M. Moreau Christoph: "In the present condition of society, theft, committed by the poor against the rich, is nothing but a reparation, that is to say, the just and reciprocal transmission of a piece of money, of a piece of bread, which returns from the hands of the thief to the hands of the one from whom it is stolen."

"Thou art master of my money," said Jean Sbogar, "I of thy life. This belongs neither to thee nor to me, give it up and I let thee go." And now, ye philanthropists, go and invent some fine penal system. If you have found—with great trouble and work—means and ways of educating the criminal, then want, which awaits the prisoner when he steps out from our places of correction, remorselessly throws him back to crime. The accounts of the penitentiaries of New York show that one of every two discharged criminals is confirmed in his evil life. Ye sagacious physicians, keep the pest-stricken in the hospitals; to give him freedom only means to throw him back into the arms of pestilence. And where is the means to reform the criminal in prison? To come in contact with an incorrigible rogue is fatal for one who is still susceptible to reform. For vice has its standard of honor as well as Virtue. Shall we resort to isolation? What unhappy experiences! In the state of Maine five out of eleven prisoners condemned to solitary confinement became sick, two suicided, the others became beastly idiots. This is the mortality of solitary confinement. You only have to look at the statistics. But what is the good of a remedy which has been studied with so much interest? Wait a moment and see what has been unquestionably proven. The condition of our prisons ought to be better than

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that of our workshops. Shall there be a premium on theft? Society tells the poor: attack me if you wish that I should show my solicitude for you! Does this not sound like a joke? Well, this is anyhow the inevitable consequence of the industrial regime, where every factory becomes a school of corruption.

Other fatal consequences:—We mentioned that from individualism springs competition; from competition, fluctuation of wages and their insufficiency. Having reached this point, we come upon the next step, namely: the breaking of the family ties. Every marriage creates increasing expense. Why should poverty mate itself with poverty? The family gives way to illegitimate union. Children are born to the poor, how shall they be fed? This is the reason why we find so many of these unfortunate little creatures dead in dark corners, on the stairs of lonely churches, even in the vestibules of the buildings where laws are made. In order that there may be no doubt as to the cause of infanticide, statistics prove that the number of infanticides which are committed in the fourteen chief industrial departments of France to those of the whole country is in the ratio of 41 to 121.[11] The greatest evil is always found where industry has chosen its field of action. Ought not the state step forth and tell the poor mother:—I will take care of your children, I will open orphan asylums for them. Should this not be sufficient? No, it ought to go further, it ought to take away the reason which leads to the system of sterility. We have erected foundling asylums, we have given motherhood, which relinquishes its offspring, the benefit of secrecy. But who can now check the progress of unlawful union after the temptation of lust has been freed from the fear of burdens which it enjoins? Thus the moralists cry out! Their assertion is substantiated by the heartless statisticians, and their complaints are even louder. Suppress the foundling asylums, suppress them, if you do not want the number of foundlings to increase to such an extent that all of our united resources cannot suffice to sustain them. The increase in the number of foundlings since the erection of the asylums has been remarkable indeed! January 1, 1784, the number of foundlings amounted to 40,000; in 1820, to 102,103; in 1831, to 122,981; today it has increased to 130,000.[12] The proportion of foundlings

11. Author's Note—See the statistics published by the *Constitutionel* of July 15, 1840.

12. Author's Note—See the books of Mme. Huerne de Pommeuse, Duchâtel, Benoiston de Châteauneuf.

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in the last forty years has almost tripled. How is it possible to check this great increase of misery? And what can we do to evade the ever increasing burden of taxes? I am sure that mortality ranges high in these institutions of modern charity; I am assured that many of these infants who are turned over to public benevolence, are killed by the keen air of the street as they come from their hovels, or by the heavy atmosphere of the asylum; it is not new to me that many others die gradually from insufficient food; for, of the 9,727 nurses of foundlings in Paris, only 6,264 own a cow or a goat; I know further that many of the children confided to wet nurses, die from the effect of the milk which other nurselings born in debauchery have poisoned,[13] yet even this mortality does not, alas, relieve us of our burdens. And if we ask now about the increase of taxes in figures, we find the expenditures from 1815 to 1831 have grown; Charente, from 45,232 fr. to 92,454; Landes, from 38,881 to 74,553; Lot-et-Garonne, from 66,579 fr. to 116,986; Loire, from 50,079 to 83,492 fr. And so on for the rest of France. In 1825 the Conseils Genereaux voted an appropriation of 5,915,744 fr. and the end of the year the deficit reached 230,418 fr. To make matters worse, the conditions of health in the foundling asylums better themselves from day to day; the progress in hygiene becomes a calamity! Great God! what conditions are these! And once more, I ask, what shall we do? Somebody has proposed that each mother who wants to hand over her child to the asylum, be submitted to the humiliating obligation of taking a policeman as her confessor. Indeed a fine invention! What can society gain when women have learned not to blush any more? If every youthful indiscretion shall have obtained its permit or if every act of libertinism shall have received a passport, what will happen next? Then through the necessity of this painful confession, the bridle will soon lose its curbing power; women will be raised to shamelessness, chastity will be relegated to oblivion, when the state sets its seal on the violation of all laws of modesty and decorum. Then it would certainly be better to fulfill the wish of many, and remove the foundling asylums. Impious demand! True, gentlemen, it is possible that you will find the taxes increased, but we do not want the number of infanticides to increase. The sum which burdens your budget horrifies you! But, we say,

13. Author's Note—*Philosophie du Buget* by M. Edelstand Duméril.

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that when the daughters of the people do not find in their wages the necessary means of existence, it is no more than just that you should lose on one side what you have gained on the other. But is the family ruined through this? Certainly! See to it that labor is reorganized. For, I repeat, the utmost misery, the destruction of the family, is the consequence of competition. Strange fact! that the advocates of this regime should tremble at the shadow of each innovation and do not perceive that the maintenance of this system throws them by a natural and irresistible descent into the most audacious of modern innovations: into Saint-Simonism.

The penning up of children in factories is one of the results of the hideous industrial system. "In France, philanthropists of Mühlhausen submitted a petition to the chamber saying, children of all ages are employed in every cotton spinnery as well as in all the other industries; we found there children five and six years old. The number of hours of daily work is the same for young and old in the spinneries unless in a commercial crisis—this number is never less than 13½ hours. Walk through an industrial town some morning, and look at the people who pour into the cotton mills! There you will see the unfortunate children, pale, delicate, starved, embittered, with dim eyes and hollow cheeks, breathing with difficulty, their backs bent like old men. Listen to the conversation of these children: their voices are rough and heavy, as if clogged by the unclean vapors which they are forced to inhale in the cotton factories." Would to heaven that this description were exaggerated! But these facts are based on observations, collected by conscientious men and entered in official reports. The proofs, moreover, are only too convincing. M. Charles Dupin has laid before the Chamber of Peers these facts; that in the ten *départements* most given to industry in France, for every 10,000 men called to the army, 8,980 were feeble or deformed; in the *départements* given to agriculture, only 4,029. In 1837, to get 100 men strong enough to endure the hardships of war, it was necessary to reject 170 in Rouen; 157 in Nimes; 168 in Elboeuf; 100 in Mühlhausen, [14]. These figures show the natural results of competition. In helping immeasurably to impoverish the workmen, we force them to find in their children an addition to their wages. Wherever competition dominates, it

14. Author's Note—See the above cited statistics.

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has been necessary to employ children. In England, for instance, the greater part of the workshops are filled by children. The *Monthly Review*, quoted by M. D'Haussez, estimates the number of laborers in the factories of Dundee who have not reached the age of 18 to be 1,078; but of these the majority are under 14; a great number under 12; some younger than 9 years, yes, even 6 or 7 year old children were employed.

If we accept the statement of the *Ausland*, quoted by M. Edelstand Duméril, the consequences of this terrible burden on childhood are as follows:—amongst 700 children of both sexes, picked at random, in Manchester, we found among the 350 not employed in factories 21 sick, 88 in poor health, 241 in full health; while of the 350 children working in factories, 75 were sick, 154 in poor health and only 145 in full health.

A system which forces the fathers to exploit their own children is a homicidal one. From the moral point of view can we think of anything more disastrous than to employ both sexes in factories? It means to inoculate the children with vice. Can we read, without horror, of the eleven-year old boy whom Dr. Cumins treated in a hospital for syphilis? And what conclusion shall we draw from the fact that the age in the English house of refuge averages eighteen years! We might multiply these sad proofs; in Paris for 12,607 women inscribed on the register of prostitutes the cities furnish 8,641; and all belong to the artisan class. M. Lorain, professor at the Collége Louis le Grand, has compiled a report as sad as it is remarkable, concerning the conditions of public schools in the kingdom. After minutely enumerating the odious victories of industry over education and its influence on the morals of children, he adds, that France is on the verge of being infected by the customs which have gained root in England, where, as a table of statistics in the *Journal of Education* has proven, in four days 144 children have frequented low dives. How is it possible without a reorganization of labor to stay the rapid decay of the population? By laws which regulate the employment of child labor in factories. This is now being tried. In France, the philanthropy of the law-makers is so great that the Chamber of Peers fixed the age at which a child may be made a part of a machine at eight years. According to this law, overflowing with love and charity, a child of eight years shall not be compelled to work longer than eight hours; nor a child of twelve years longer than twelve hours per day. This is only

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a plagiary of the "Factory Bill." And what a plagiary! But, after all, this law must be obeyed; but how can it be possible? What shall the law-makers answer the unhappy father, who says to them: "I have children of eight and nine years; if you shorten their time of work, you diminish their wages. I have children of six and seven years, but no bread to feed them; you forbid me to send them to work, do you want me to let them starve?" The fathers are unwilling to shorten the hours, you cry out. Is it possible to force them? And on what law, on what point of justice should such a violence be based in the face of poverty? Under this law we cannot respect humanity in the child without outrageously insulting it in the father.

The *Courier Français* has lately admitted that this is a very serious difficulty; I readily believe it. Thus you see there is no remedy possible without social reform. Thus under the sovereignty of competition, labor will bequeath to the future a generation decrepit, deformed, rotten, half gone into decay. O, ye rich ones, who will die for you in war? You must have soldiers!

But upon this annihilation of physical and moral capabilities of the sons of the poor, closely follows the annihilation of their intellectual faculties. Thanks to the imperious demands of the law, there are in every locality elementary teachers, but the necessary means for their support are granted everywhere with a shameful stinginess. Yet this is not all: not long ago, in travelling through the most civilized provinces of France, workmen whom we asked why they did not send their children to school, answered every time, that they sent them to the factories instead. Through personal experience we verified the truth of this generally acknowledged fact, which can also be read in the report of M. Lorain, a member of the University, who says literally:—"Wherever a factory, a spinnery, an arsenal, a workshop is opened, you may close the school." What economic condition is this in which we find industry in a strife with education? And what success can a school show under such an economic condition? Go to the villages and see who are the teachers. Sometimes they are released convicts, vagabonds and adventurers, who pretend to be schoolmasters; sometimes half-starved teachers who like to exchange the plough for the ferrule and teach only because they have nothing better to do. Almost everywhere children are penned up in damp, unhealthy rooms. Yes, even in horse stables, where they profit at least in winter by the warmth which

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the animals give out. There are villages where the teacher keeps school in a room which serves him at the same time for kitchen, dining room, and bed-room. If the children of the poor receive an education at all, it is thus handicapped, and still these are the privileged ones. These details, let me emphasize again, are given by the official reports. Those writers who pretend that the people ought to be educated, say that without education no improvement is possible, that reform must begin there. The reply is very simple; if the poor man has to choose between school and work, his choice will not be doubtful for a single moment. A strong argument speaks for the factory which secures its preference; in school, the child is taught, but in the factory, paid. In this way under the reign of competition, the intelligence of the poor is stifled when they have scarce left the cradle; their hearts are ruined, their bodies are destroyed. Threefold sin, threefold murder!

But a minute's patience, dear reader, I am soon at the end of my sorrowful evidence. It is an incontestable fact that the growth of population is considerably more rapid amongst the poor than the rich. According to the *Statistique de la civilization européenne,* the birth rate in the better districts of Paris is only $\frac{1}{32}$ of the population, while in the poorer it is $\frac{1}{26}$. This disproportion is a general fact and M. de Sismondi explains it very well in his work on political economy because of the impossibility of the day laborer to either hope for anything in the future or to provide for the future. Only he who knows himself master of to-morrow, can regulate the number of his children to his income; but he who lives from hand to mouth, subjects himself to the yoke of a mysterious fatality, to which he consecrates his progeny, because he himself has been consecrated to it. On the other hand, the asylums threaten society with an inundation of beggars. What remedy is there against this plague of the country? Yes, if pestilences were only more frequent, or peace would not last so long! For, in the present economic condition, annihilation is the simplest remedy! But wars are becoming less and less frequent; cholera lets us wait so long; where shall all this end? And what shall we finally do with our poor? It is evident that any society in which food does not keep pace with the birth rate, is tottering on the edge of an abyss. France is in just such a situation. M. Rubichon, in his book entitled *Social Mechanism,* has proven this frightful truth beyond any doubt. It is true,

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poverty kills. According to Dr. Villermé, out of 20,000 individuals born at the same time, of whom 10,000 are among the rich and 10,000 among the poor, 54 per cent of the former and 62 per cent of the latter died before they reached the age of forty years. The number of people at the age of 90 years is in the rich district 82 and in the poor, 53 to 10,000 inhabitants. Vain remedy! This frightful remedy of death. Misery brings into existence more unhappy ones than it permits to reach maturity. Once more, which side shall we take? The Spartans killed their slaves; Valerius had the mendicants drowned, in France certain laws were passed in the sixteenth century condemning them to the gibbet.[15] We can take our choice between these just punishments! Why do we not embrace the doctrine of Malthus? Oh, but Malthus has not been logical, he has not carried his system to its logical conclusion. Let us adhere to the theory of the *Livre du Meutre,* published in England, February, 1839, or better still, to the pamphlet written by Marcus, of which our friend Godfrey Cavaignac has given an account, in which it is proposed to suffocate all children of the working classes after the third one, conditional damages being paid to the mother for this patriotic deed. You laugh? But it is a serious book which gives these proposals, written by an author-philosopher. Whole volumes of commentaries have been written about it, the most important writers of England have discussed it, and finally condemned it with indignation for its hideous cruelty —and it is not at all a ridiculous book! It is a fact that England has no right to laugh at these blood-thirsty follies, this same England which found herself forced by the principles of competition to another immense extravagance to the poor-tax. Will our readers permit us to recommend to their meditations a few lines taken from E. Bulwer's book:—*England and the English:*

"The independent day-laborer can buy with his wages only 122 ounces of food a week, including 13 ounces of meat.

"The healthy poor, who becomes a burden to the parish, receives 151 ounces of food per week, including 21 ounces of meat.

"The convict gets 239 ounces per week, including 38 ounces of meat."

In other words, the material condition of the convict in England is more favorable than that of the recipient of charity, and his position is again better than that of the honest laborer. That is

15. Author's Note—See the authors cited by M. Edelstand Duméril in his *Philosophie du Buget*, vol. 1, pp. 11.

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monstrous, is it not? Well, it is only a necessity. England has laborers, but not so many as inhabitants. But as they can only choose between the maintenance of the poor or their annihilation, the English law makers have decided for the first; they did not have as much courage as Emperor Valerius, that is all. It only remains to ascertain if the law makers of France, in the face of all this, considered in cold blood the terrible consequences of the economic regime which they borrowed from England. I insist upon this point! Competition breeds misery; and this fact is proven by figures. Misery is dreadfully prolific, this fact is proven by figures. The fertility of the poor throws unfortunates into society who ought to work, but who can not find work; this fact is also proven by figures. Once arrived at this point, society cannot act otherwise than to kill the poor or to feed them free! Cruelty or madness!

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CHAPTER III

COMPETITION IS THE CAUSE OF THE DECLINE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

I could stop here. A society like the one I have just described is in peril of civil war. What does it matter that the bourgeoisie congratulates itself that lawlessness has not yet reached its heart, when anarchy already lies threatening at her feet. But does not the reign of the bourgeoisie harbor in itself all elements of an early and inevitable dissolution?

Cheapness is the big word which, according to the school of economists of Smith and Say, embraces all benefits of free competition; but why do we stubbornly refuse to take into consideration the results of cheapness and its relation to the momentary usefulness which the consumer derives from it? Cheapness benefits only those who are consumers, while it sows amongst the producers the seeds of destructive anarchy. Cheapness is the bludgeon with which the rich producer fells the less fortunate. Cheapness is the trap into which the bold speculators lure industrious workingmen. Cheapness is the death sentence of the manufacturer who is not able to advance the money for a costly machine which his wealthy rival is able to have. Cheapness is an ambush in which monopoly lies in wait; it is the death-knell of the small industry, for the small trade, the small property; in one word, it is the destruction of the bourgeoisie in favor of an industrial oligarchy.

Shall cheapness be condemned altogether? Nobody will dare to suggest such an absurdity. But it is the peculiarity of false principles that they change good into evil and corrupt all things. In the system of competition cheapness is only a temporary and apparent benefit. It is only maintained so long as the combat is raging; as soon as the stronger has overcome all his rivals, the prices rise. Competition leads to monopoly for the same reason that cheapness leads to exorbitant prices. Thus that which has been an instrument of war, used by the producers amongst themselves, becomes now—sooner or later—the cause of impoverishment for the consumer. Combine all these causes with those which we have already enumerated, first of all the

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unregulated increase of the population, and we shall have to accept the fact that the impoverishment of the masses of consumers is an evil which is the direct result of competition.

On the other hand, this competition, which aims to dry up the sources of consumption, forces production to a destructive activity. The confusion resulting from the general conflict of interests, takes away from the single producer the knowledge of the state of the market. Groping in the dark, he is dependent on chance alone for the sale of his products. Why should he curb his production as long as he can make up his losses in the exceptionally elastic wages of his laborers? We see daily that manufacturers continue the work, although at a loss, because they do not want to diminish the value of their machinery, their tools, their raw materials, their buildings and furthermore not lose their customers, and because they—like the gambler, do not care to lose the possibility of a lucky winning in industry, which, under the domineering power of competition, is scarcely anything else than a game of chance.

Therefore we cannot often enough insist upon this result, that competition forces production to increase and consumption to decrease; thus it goes directly in opposition to the reasonable purpose of economic science; it is at the same time oppression and madness.

When the bourgeoisie rose against the old power and saw it sink to the ground under its heavy blows, it declared that these old powers had been stricken with blindness and ignorance.

Well, today the bourgeosie is in the same position, for it does not perceive how its own blood flows nor how it is tearing at its vitals with its own hands.

Yes, the economic order of today threatens the property of the middle class, as it has also destroyed in a cruel manner the property of the poor.

Who has not read of the lawsuit to which the fight between the *Messageries françaises* and the *Messageries royales* and the *Messageries Lafitte* and *Caillard* had given cause? What a lawsuit! How it laid bare all the weak points of our economic conditions. And yet this lawsuit passed by practically unnoticed. They have paid less attention to it than they would have given to any commonplace parliamentary debate. The most astonishing thing, the most incomprehensible in connection with this lawsuit is the fact that nobody drew the conclusion from it which it

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naturally offered. What was it all about? Two companies were accused of uniting to destroy a third one. This created a great disturbance. Law had been violated, that protecting law which in order to prevent oppression, prohibits coalitions whose purpose is to prevent the oppression of the weak by the strong. Is this not a most wretched condition? What! The law forbids him, who possesses 100,000 fr. to consolidate with another who has 100,000 fr. against some one who has just as much, because this means the unavoidable destruction of the latter, and this same law permits the owner of 200,000 fr. to wage war upon him who has only 100,000 fr. Wherein lies the difference between these two cases? Is it not here as there the war of the greater capital against the lesser? And is it not always the fight of the strong against the weak? And is this fight not always an odious warfare because of its inequality? What a contradiction! One of the lawyers pleading in this celebrated case said: "It is permissible for any one to ruin himself in order to ruin others." The statement is true under present conditions and is found to be very correct. THAT IT IS PERMISSIBLE FOR ANY ONE TO RUIN HIMSELF IN ORDER TO RUIN OTHERS!!!

What do the present statesmen think and expect when they cry out convinced of the imminence of the peril as did lately the *Constitutionnel* and the *Courrier Français:*

"The only remedy consists in driving this system to the extreme, to throw down everything that opposes its complete development; in short to complete the absolute freedom of industry, through the absolute freedom of commerce." What! is that a remedy? Do you call the enlargement of the field of battle the only means of avoiding the misery of war? What! are there not industries enough which ruin themselves; will you add to this lawlessness the incalculable complications of a new means of destruction? This is the road that leads to chaos.

We can less easily understand those who imagine that any mysterious combination of two opposite principles would be possible. It is a very poor idea to try to graft association on competition, this would be about the same as if we should take hermaphrodites to replace eunuchs. The association is a progress only when it finds universal application. In the past few years we have seen many profit-sharing societies develop. Who does not know their scandalous histories? If one individual fights against another individual, or one association against another

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one—it is always war, always a reign of violence which makes use of deceit and tyranny with hypocrisy. What else is the association of capitalists amongst themselves? Here are the laborers, who are not capitalists, what are you going to do with them? As associates you reject them, do you wish to make enemies of them?

Do you mean to say that, the extreme concentration of personal property, neutralized and lessened by the principle of division of inheritances and that the power of the bourgeoisie, if destroyed by industry, can be reestablished through agriculture? What an erroneous idea! The excessive division of real estate must, if we do not take care, lead us back to the reconstruction of the great landed estate. We seek in vain to deny this; the parcelling of soil, small proprietorship, the spade instead of the plow, dull routine, labor unaided by science. Parcelling of soil deprives agriculture of machinery as well as of capital. Without machinery there is no progress; without capital no stock. How can—under such circumstances—small farms endure the competition of the larger ones without being absorbed? The result has not yet been shown, because minute division of land has not been carried out to its farthest limits. But have patience! See what is happening in the meantime! Every small proprietor is a day laborer; for two days in the week he is his own master, the other time he is the slave of his neighbor. And if he ever has the wish to enlarge his property, he steps so much nearer to complete servitude. And thus it happens that the farmer, who owns only a few acres of poor land, which barely brings 4 per cent if he works it himself, can seldom withstand the temptation to enlarge his property if he has a chance. He takes a mortgage on it at 10, 15 or 20 per cent. For if there is no credit in the country, usury steps in and takes its place. The results are evident! The figures in France of real estate indebtedness amount to 13 thousands of millions. This does not mean anything else but that side by side with those capitalists who become captains of industry, a handful of mere usurers start up who try to make themselves masters of the land. Thus the bourgeoisie advances towards dissolution in the cities as well as in the country. From all sides it is threatened, its position undermined, and its existence destroyed.

To avoid commonplaces and cheap truths I have not mentioned the horrifying moral corruption with which industry in the

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present order, or better, disorder, has harrassed the bourgeoisie. Everything has become salable and competition has invaded even the domain of thought.

Thus factories ruin trades; commercial houses absorb the modest little ones; the tradesman, who is his own master, is replaced by the day laborer who is not his own master; cultivation by means of the plow gives way to the spade; and the field of the poor falls under the shameful control of the usurer; failures of business houses become more numerous; industry is transformed through the poorly regulated extension of credit to gambling in which the gain is assured to no one, not even to the scoundrel. Finally this vast disorder which is created especially to awaken in the souls of every one jealousy, suspicion and hatred, and by and by to stifle all nobler feelings and to dry up all scources of faith, devotion, and poetry, this is the despicable but too truthful picture of the results due to the application of free competition.

We have borrowed this wretched system from the English. Let us see at a casual glance what this system has done for the glory and prosperity of England.

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CHAPTER IV

COMPETITION CONDEMNED BY THE EXAMPLE OF ENGLAND

Englishmen say that capital and labor are by nature two antagonistic powers; how can we force them to live side by side and aid one another? For this there is only one remedy; the laborer must never lack work; the employer, on the other hand, should always find—in the ready market for his product—the means to pay work accordingly. Does not this solve the problem? Who will have the right or the heart to complain in case production should finally become active and consumption finally elastic! The wages of the one will always be sufficient, the profit of the other always satisfactory. Let us then, open the doors of the infinite to human activity, nothing will limit its enthusiastic flight. Let us proclaim "laissez faire" honestly and without restriction. Is England's production not sufficiently varied to afford commerce a larger career? Well, we shall find sailors and construct ships which will give us the commerce of the world. Do we live on an island? Well, then, our ships give access to all continents. Is not the amount of raw material produced by our country too limited? Very well, then let us seek raw materials at the end of the world. All nations will become consumers of the products of England, which will work for all people. To produce, always to produce and to solicit other nations by every means to induce consumption, is the work which the power of England will employ. This will make her rich; this will develop the genius of her sons.

A gigantic plan! A plan almost as egoistic as absurd, and still one which England, for two centuries, has followed with incredible perseverance! Oh, surely, to be shut up on a little, not very fertile, foggy island, and to go forth from there one day to conquer the universe, not with soldiers but with merchants, to send thousands of ships to the East, to the West, North and South, to teach hundreds of countries the use of their own treasure, to sell America the products of Europe, and Europe the riches of India; to bind all nations to her existence and to fetter them in some way to her girdle by the innumerable ties of a world-span-

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ning commerce; to find in gold the power capable of balancing the sword, and in Pitt the man capable of making the audacity of a Napoleon hesitate; and in all this is a quality of greatness, which dazzles and astonishes the mind.

But what has England not dared to accomplish her end! Up to what point has she not pushed the rapacity of her hope and the madness of her pretentions. How has she conquered Issequibo and Surinam, how Ceylon and Demerary, how Tobago and St. Lucia, how Malta and Corfu—enmeshing the whole world in the immense network of her colonies? We know how she has settled herself in Lisbon since the time of the Methuen Treaty, and by what abuse of power she has founded in India her commercial tyranny; side by side with the sovereignty of Holland, mixed with the debris of the colonial structure erected by Vasco de Gama and an Albuquerque. (No one denies the damage which her cupidity has imparted to France; every one knows by what strategems, by what perfidious instigations she has always known how to drench the Spanish colonies in America with blood. What shall we say about the violence by which England has secured the empire of the sea for so long? Has she ever respected the rights of neutral countries or even acknowledged them? Has the right of blockade as exercised by England not become the most arrogant of tyrannies? And has she not made the right of search the most odious of all brigandage? And what is the purpose of all this? Only to have—let us repeat it—raw materials for the manufacturer and to serve her customers. This thought has been the dominating one in England for two centuries, that in her colonies the culture of articles of food, such as rice, sugar, coffee, were neglected, while to the culture of cotton and silk a feverish attention was given. But why? While England put exorbitant, and we might say homicidal, duty on the importation of food stuffs, she opened to all raw materials her ports almost free of duty, a monstrous anomaly, which induced M. Rubichon to say, "Of all the nations of the world the English have worked most and fasted most."

To this leads a merciless political economy of which Ricardo has so complaisantly announced the premises and of which Malthus has drawn with the utmost sangfroid the horrible conclusion.

This political economy carried the germ of vice in itself, which will render it fatal to England and to the whole world.

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It advanced the theory that nothing was of importance but to try to find consumers; it was necessary to add, solvent consumers. But how dare they awaken a wish, without the possibility of its fulfillment? Could we not foresee that England, while substituting her activity for the activity of those nations whom she wished to have as her consumers, must end with the destruction of these people, because she closed for them the source of all wealth, namely, labor? Could England pose exclusively as the producing nation and hope at the same time that her wares would find a continuous market amongst the peoples that became *exclusively* her consumers? This hope was evident madness. The day will dawn when the English will perish from prosperity by causing the others to perish from poverty. The day will dawn when the consuming nation cannot find raw material in exchange; and what will this mean to England? The glut of markets, the ruin of numerous factories, the misery of the whole mass of laborers, the universal destruction of credit.

In order to know how far the carelessness, the folly of production goes, we need only to search the history of England's trade and commerce. At one time English merchants sent to Brazil, where they had never seen ice, whole ship loads of skates;[16-1] at another time, Manchester exported to Rio de Janeiro[16-2] more wares in one week than they have used in the last twenty years. Everywhere production in using her sources of help in an exaggerated way, cripples her activity without rendering herself account of the possible consumption of her production.

But again, to cause a nation to entrust to another the care of developing elements of labor which it possesses, means to gradually take away the capital and to impoverish it, and consequently to make it more unfit for consumption, as it can only consume that for which it is able to pay. The general impoverishment of other nations which England has needed in order to have her products consumed, is the vicious circle in which England has been moving for the past two centuries; this is the mistake, the deep, incorrigible error of her system. Thus (we insist upon this point of view because it is the most important), England has brought herself to a strange position, unique in history; to bring about for herself two equally effective causes

16. Author's Note—1. Mawe, Travels in Brazil.
2. ibid.

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of ruin, the one in the work of the people, the other in their inertia; this labor creates competition for her which she cannot always conquer; their inertia, takes from her her consumers without whom she cannot get along.

This has already happened on a small scale, but inevitably will happen on a larger one. What losses has not England already sustained because her products have grown with a greater rapidity than the articles which the other nations would exchange for them? How often has England not produced, after many warnings, the results of which have cruelly punished the extravagance of overproduction. We cannot so soon forget the great crisis, which terminated in the English intrigues in the countries lying between Mexico and Paraguay. Scarcely had the news reached England that a field had been opened for industrial adventures in South America, when all hearts beat immediately with joy, and every brain was excited. All heads were turned. The production in England was never in such a paroxysm of frenzy. If the speculators were to be believed, only a few days and a few ships were necessary to transport all the immense wealth which America possessed to Great Britain. The confidence was so great, that the bankers hastened to coin money, hoping to have the first returns. And what was the result of this great movement? They had calculated on everything except the existence of articles of exchange and the facility of transporting them. America kept her gold, which they could not extract from her mines; that country, which had been devastated by fire and sword, had nothing to give in exchange for the merchandise brought to her—neither cotton nor indigo. England knows as well as Europe what this great mistake has cost her both in millions and in tears!

Let no one say that we drew the conclusions from the exceptions to the rule. The evil we have pointed out has given rise to all the evils in its train. For, while England exhausted herself colonially in incredible efforts to render the whole universe tributary to her industry, what spectacle has her inner history offered to an attentive observer? Workshops succeeded workshops, the invention of to-morrow succeeded the invention of yesterday; the furnaces of the North ruined by those of the West; the laboring population increased beyond all measure under the stimulus of a limitless competition; the number of cattle, which as food of man, fell far behind the number of horses, which men

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were obliged to feed; the bread of charity replaced, little by little, the bread of labor; the poor-tax was introduced and served to increase poverty. In short, England presented to the surprised and indignant world a spectacle of extreme misery, hatched under the wings of extreme opulence. Such are the results due to a public policy which is based on the principle of national egotism: England had to seek consumers everywhere and at any price.

And to obtain these horribly disastrous results, how many injustices had England to commit, how often to encourage treason, to sow discord, to foment wars, subsidize iniquitous coalitions and combat glorious ideas!

I do not wish to go any further, I will try to end this sad history, so that no one can accuse me of wanting to insult the strong old English race. No, I can and will not forget that England, in spite of the evil which she has done to the world and to my country, can claim for herself, in the history of nations, many immortal pages; that England, before all other peoples of Europe, has been visited by freedom, that her laws, even under the yoke of an overbearing aristocracy, have rendered sincere and solemn homage to the dignity of mankind; that from her bosom came forth the wildest but also the most powerful cry that was ever raised against the tyranny of the papacy, united with that of the inquisition; that she is even to-day the only country which the furies of political life have not rendered inhospitable and fatal to the weak. For there, at least, you found an asylum, you poor noble exiles, unconquered but wounded champions; there you reassembled the remnants of your fortunes, there you found the life of the soul and intellect, perhaps the only thing which the rage of our enemies left you in your great disaster. And from there you followed the thoughts of a people who were as unhappy, as much in exile, as you; for had they not to search for their fatherland, though they lived in its midst, but alas! could not recognize it in its degradation?

In addition England has made full expiation. There is, says a new writer, a penal code for the nations as well as for the individual. This truth has been grieviously proven in the history of England. Where is her power to-day? The empire of the seas eludes her. Her possessions in the Indies are threatened. Not so long ago the English Lords almost held the stirrup

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of the victor of Toulouse, whom they dared no longer call the victim of Waterloo.

And what has become of the English aristocracy, the most vigorous and most splendid of the world? Who are, indeed, her leaders? Is it Lord Lindhurst, the son of an obscure painter, or Sir Robert Peele, the son of a cotton manufacturer, created Baronet by Pitt? Or Lord Wellington, this feeble offspring of the Irish race and the bourgeoisie of the Wellesley's? These are the heads of the English aristocracy, they are the ones who lead it and govern it and represent it. And these men are not even of her blood!

Not long ago the Marquis of Westminster said in the House of Lords: "They tell us we should sacrifice one fifth of our revenues, we, the possessors of the soil of Great Britain! Are those who say this ignorant of the fact that the other four fifths belong to our creditors?"

The exaggeration of these words is evident. Unfortunately, it is only too true that the inalienability of fiefs in England protects the larger part of the income of the English noblemen against every loss, and these revenues are immense. If they amount—as it seems certain—to 135 millions for the 500 families of the Peers of England and to one billion three hundred millions for the four hundred thousand people who compose the families of baronets, knights and the gentry, we have to acknowledge that the British nobility knew how to seize a very good part of the spoils of the globe! But we have seen what a powerful menace hangs over English commerce. The aristocracy is a sleeping partner in all the industries, and it is easy to predict that the material punishment will not be long delayed.

As far as its moral chastisement is concerned, that could not be more cruel. The wealth of all these great lords makes them the prey of a certain vague melancholy, an illness sent by God to the great of the earth to curb them with the bridle of pain; pain, that imposing and terrible lesson of equality. What do the proud lords find in reality in the midst of their enjoyment? They find therein the bitterness of thought and the eternal disquiet of the heart. They hasten away from the fogs of their island and go to squander their ill-gotten gold in all the parts of the world whence they have stolen it, dragging with them the burden of their enervating wealth.

To-day it can only concern us to know if the bourgeoisie

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of France will imitate the English. It concerns us to know whether in seeking new resources for her industrial power, she will supplant on the ocean the hated supremacy of St. George's banner? For a great people, this is the irresistible tendency of the logic of competition. But England will not lose the scepter of the seas without a struggle. (May the French bourgeoisie then rush as quickly as possible to stifle the English on their island.)

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CHAPTER V

COMPETITION WILL NECESSARILY RESULT IN A DEATH STRUGGLE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

In order that an alliance should be a natural one between two nations, each must bring into the contract reciprocal advantages; they must have different resources which vary in their nature and purpose. France and England are two powers which must expand into colonial possessions in order to exist, and this is the first obstacle in a durable alliance. When Rome was extending her territory by war, and Carthage desired to expand through commerce, Rome and Carthage met, after they had taken possession of all the known countries, and fought it out.

Because the economic conditions of France and England are the same today, thus making these two nations necessarily maritime, a conflict between them is inevitable. For is not Free Competition the principle which dominates our social order today? Must not free competition have as a corollary every sort of advantageous production? Must not such a production, whose growth is so impetuous and so unregulated, in order to find new outlets, conquer the world industrially and rule the sea?

On that day on which we destroy the guild system the fact arises quite naturally that there is one nation too many in this world, which makes it necessary that either France must perish or that England be wiped from the map. New complications were added to the long rivalry which in the fifteenth century brought a Duke of Bedford to Paris and forced Charles VII to flee to Bourges.

In 1789, France adopted all the traditions of the English school of political economy; she became an industrial nation of the same kind as England. Launched in the rapid current of competition she forces us to establish branches everywhere and to have our agents in all ports. But to dispute the ocean with England would be to deprive her of life. And she has understood this very well. Consequently the coalitions paid by her; the continental blockade; and the terrible duel between Pitt and Napoleon. But with Pitt dead, and Napoleon slowly

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assassinated, it is necessary to begin the struggle over again. There is but one way to avoid it! That is to make of France a nation essentially agricultural, while England remains industrial. Our statesmen do not doubt this and when M. Thiers said, not long ago, to the Tribune:—"France must be satisfied with being the first of the continental nations," M. Thiers spoke a word whose far-reaching effect he certainly ignored. For, if we had cried out:—"Do you wish to change the foundation of our social order?" what would he have answered? Vast as it is, the ocean is not large enough for France and England at the same time, governed as they are by the same economic laws and animated consequently by the same spirit. Have not these two nations, seeking colonial expansion and not being able to live unless under this condition, met each other at every point and checked each other at every turn? This is the point at issue. Moreover, the motive from which England has excluded France from the last treaty is altogether a commercial one. There is no possible doubt on this point. Nothing is clearer than the language of the *Globe*, the special organ of Lord Palmerston. According to this journal, if Lord Palmerston wished to run all the risks of a rupture with France; if he had persuaded the cabinet of St. James to gain by the revolts against Mehemed Ali, which broke out in Syria, it is because he saw how important it was for England to keep this country within her mercantile protectorate. The plan of Lord Palmerston is very simple; he regards Syria as the key to the Orient and this key he will put into the hands of the English. *They made an agreement with the Divan by which terms the pashas or viceroys of Syria act in accordance with the views of the representatives of the British government.* The English minister, as we see, makes no secret of his designs. To open to British ships three routes leading to India; the first through the Red Sea, the second through Syria and the Euphrates; the third through Syria, Persia and Beluchistan, such is the substance of England's hopes. In order to realize this plan, we see that she must consent to give Constantinople to Russia. Having once opened these three routes to India, *she will line them with markets,* so the *Globe* ingeniously predicts. Thus the present England is still the old England! To-day, as yesterday, as always, this race, indominable in its cupidity, must seek and find consumers. Has England linen and cotton goods which call for markets? Quick! conquer the

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Orient. Does she wish to humiliate France? No, it is quite another thing. It is a question of her existence. And she cannot do this according to her economic constitution, except on the condition of subjugating the entire world to her merchandise.

That, which for England is a question of life or death, is also a question of life or death for France, if the principle of competition is maintained. For this reason, competition is a necessary upheaval of nations, all men of noble impulse will applaud; but ought she to draw it in order to sustain the traditions of English brigandage? Alas! it is hardly worth while to pillage the whole universe to arrive at the poor tax.

The social order is bad—the question is how to change it. Before we decide what is, in our case, the possible remedy, let us determine which is the most important issue—political reform, in which many are interested, or social reform which appeals to many others.

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CHAPTER VI

THE NECESSITY OF A DOUBLE REFORM

There are many audacious thinkers to-day, who meditate on the organizations of labor. "What do all your parliamentary disputes, all your petty conflicts over the ministry, and all your palace revolutions matter to us?" they say. "Descend with us into the heart of society which is at the point of dissolution: you will find there many other things to inspire fear or hope. Here are the abysses, which we must fathom. What after all are governments? Merely transitory forms. In order that society may be regenerated; the power which ceases to be in harmony with the new civilization, falls of itself and through its own weakness."

Is all this sophistry! Yes, without doubt a renovated society is called a new power; but is the existence of the power so independent of society that one may be changed without modifying the other? When you have found the means of inaugurating the principles of association and of organizing labor according to the rules of reason, of justice and of humanity, how do you expect to arrive at the realization of your doctrines? Power, this is organized force. Power will rest on interests which are blind, but which are obstinate in their blind opposition to everything that is new. The government has legislatures which threaten you with their laws, courts which reach you with their summons, soldiers who menace you with their bayonets. Therefore possess yourself of this power if you do not wish to be overwhelmed by it. Take it for an instrument, but at the risk of finding it an obstacle.

Furthermore:—the emancipation of the proletarians is a very complicated undertaking; it implies too many reforms, it disturbs too many customs, it clashes with too many prejudices, it contradicts not only in reality but in appearance, too many interests, it is madness to believe that it can accomplish its ends by a series of partial efforts or isolated attempts. It is necessary to use the whole power of the state and this is certainly not too great an undertaking for so great a need. That which the proletarians lack to free themselves are the tools of labor: these the government must furnish them.

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No, without a political reform, a social reform is not possible, for, if the second is the *goal,* the first is the *means.*

But we must not conclude from this, that the discussion of social questions is useless, even dangerous, and that we must begin by conquering the government, only to see what can be done later? You might as well say:—let us begin, we will see later where we have to go.

This error is common enough to-day, and it must be confessed that it is shared by some eminent minds. We do not deny the necessity of solving social questions; we even acknowledge that in order to bring about a social reform the political reform must be accomplished; but we believe that the discussion of these grave difficulties must be put off until the political revolution of to-morrow. Such is our opinion.

Revolutions which do not baffle are those whose goal is precise and which have a definite beginning.

Look at the bourgeoise revolution of 1789! When it broke forth, every one could have outlined the program. It came full-fledged from the *Encyclopaedia,* this great laboratory of the ideas of the eighteenth century, it had only taken actual possession in '89 of a domain, already morally conquered. This is so true, that the Third Estate did not see any inconvenience in turning itself into legislators. The imperative decrees! Everywhere the demand was for absolute legislation! And why? Because, in the minds of all, the object of the revolution was clearly defined. They knew what they wanted, why and how they wanted it. Let us open the famous cahier of this period; the revolution is all there, for the constitution of 1791 is nothing but a faithful reproduction. How powerfully it has been established, how this entire revolution of '89 is rooted in the depth of the social body! The tempests of the convention have passed over in vain; the Empire has sought in vain to eclipse it by virtue of its cities taken and battles won; the Restoration has fought it in vain in every way that was effective, by political superstition and by religious superstition. But the Revolution has risen again above the ruins of the Convention, of the Empire and of the Restoration. The year 1830 belongs in this chain, whose first link is 1789; 1789 had begun the reign of the bourgeoisie; 1830 continued it.

Let us look now at the revolution of '93. How long did it last? What is left of it? Of what power, however, of what audacity, with what genius were not they endowed, whose task

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it was to make it triumph. What a gigantic effort! What harrowing activity! What forces put into play from enthusiasm to terror! What instruments used in the service of these new doctrines from the sword of the general to the axe of the headsman! But the aim of the revolution for which the members of the convention should have worked out a program was not clearly defined at the start. Not one of the theories hastily advanced by Robespierre and Saint-Just have been elaborated in the heart of the nation. Jean-Jacques has indeed written his *Social Contract,* but how absolutely lost is the voice of one man in the great clamor with which the publicists of the bourgeoisie filled the eighteenth century? Thus the intellectual sterility of this heroic and prodigious intelligence of the Convention is explained. The men who composed it, could only destroy one another; because outside the sphere of their activity there was not that uncertainty and balancing of ideas which rule within. However, where nothing is decided by reason, all is determined by passion: and behold how into the same basket, have fallen successively the head of Danton upon that of Vergniaud, the head of Herbert upon that of Danton, and the head of Robespierre upon that of Herbert.

Let us recall these terrible struggles and let us meditate upon the lesson which they teach. Let us never lose sight of the means, nor the goal, and far from evading the discussion of social theories, let us provoke it whenever we have the opportunity in order not to be taken unawares and to know how to direct our forces when we have seized it.

But we shall evolve many false ideas, we preach many dreams. And what about it? Can man reach truth at the first step? And when he is plunged into darkness, shall we forbid his going towards the light, because in order to reach it he is forced to go through the shadow? And do you know whether humanity reaps any benefit from that which you call dreams? Do you know whether the dream of today will not be reality ten years hence? And if the truth can be realized in ten years, is it not necessary that we should take chances on the dreams of today? Any doctrine, whatever it may be, political, religious or social, is never developed without meeting more opponents than advocates, and it does not enlist any soldier until many martyrs have

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been made. Have not all the ideas, which govern men, been esteemed follies before they were recognized as wise?

Who discovers a new world?
A fool who is railed at everywhere.
On the Cross, wet with his blood,
Dies a fool, bequeathing to us a God.

Let us not blindly accept all which these volatile minds give us as so many oracles, let us seek truth with deliberation, with prudence, even with distrust; nothing more. But why shall we close the paths to the flights of the spirit? Every army, advancing in an unknown country, must have scouts, it is necessary that some of these should give false information. Alas! boldness of thought is not such a common thing today, that it must need cool enthusiasm and discourage effort.

What do you fear? That we inject false ideas into the popular mind upon the condition of the proletariat and on the means of bettering it. I answer, that if these ideas are false, the discussion carries them off as the wind blows the chaff from the grain. If it were otherwise, then progress would be a chimera and nothing would be left to us, but to wrap our head in our mantle.

What else do you fear? That the boldness of certain solutions of social questions shall trouble the hearts and injure the success of political reform? But in the first place, is it not a fact that the questions of universal suffrage, of the real sovereignty of the people, of the democratic government, do not frighten anyone in France? And what shall we do then, to prove to the fainthearted by good and quick reasons how puerile and vain their anxiety is?

Great God! that which frightens the political parties most is not so much what they say, as what they forget to say: The unknown! That is what frightens away the feeble souls. Will the democratic party be accused of pushing on to the point where it is an industrial Jacquerie, when it has scientifically developed the means to rid industry of a horrible disorder into which it has been lead astray? Will the bourgeosie, blinded by prejudice, rise when it shall have been proven that the ever-increasing concentration of capital menaces that class with the same yoke under which the laboring class is groaning.

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Add to this, that, in order to give to the political reform numerous adherents among the people—the only means to render this reform prompt and decisive—it is absolutely indispensable to show to the people the relation which exists between a change of the government and the amelioration of its conditions, both material and moral. Let us be brave enough to say; this is what the democratic party has neglected up to the present and this, perhaps, has retarded its victory.

Discuss everything that is attached to the social reform, consider how to reach THE GOAL; work actively for the political reform as a MEANS to this end, this is the task imposed upon the defenders of the people. It is severe, but it is glorious: for it consists of the reign of justice after we have discovered truth and conquered resistance.

To arrive at a social revolution it is necessary to take its starting point in the conditions of present society. In other words, that which is important for us to find, is not so much a mathematical formula, as a practical solution.

Robert Owen was not a practical reformer, because he wanted to base the distribution of the products of labor on the needs of a society and not upon the services rendered.

The Saint-Simonists have not had any practical reformers because they have demanded the abolition of the family and the consequent destruction of the principle of inheritance.

Charles Fourier was not a practical reformer, because he laid the distribution of all labor, industrial or agricultural, at the mercy of the individual preference and because he has taken up everything in his social organization, except the idea of efficiency.

But what mighty ideas stir in all these works, especially in those of Fourier? Louis Reybaud, a laborious and intelligent writer—but full of enthusiasm and feeling—has just published a true and luminous statement of the theories expressed by these three audacious reformers. He has certainly rendered a great service in popularizing the ideas which were generally ignored or misunderstood. For the importance of the social sciences can not be contested today by anyone.

Let us see what remedy, in our opinion, will be possible. But at the outset we wish to advise the reader that we regard as merely provisional the social order, the basis of which we are about to indicate.

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CONCLUSION

HOW, ACCORDING TO OUR VIEW, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ORGANIZE

The government ought to be considered as the supreme regulator of production and endowed for this duty with great power.

This task would consist of fighting competition and of finally overcoming it.

The government ought to float a loan with the proceeds of which it should erect *social workshops* in the most important branches of national industry.

As these establishments would demand considerable investments, the number of these workshops at the start ought to be carefully limited, still they would possess, by virtue of their organization—as we shall see later—an unlimited expansion.

The government, considered as the only founder of the workshops, must determine the status regulating them. This code, deliberated and voted for by the representatives of the people ought to have the power and force of a law.

All workmen who can give guarantee of morality shall be called to work in these social workshops up to the limit of the original capital gathered together for the purchase of tools.

As the false and anti-social education given to the present generation does not allow them to look farther for any greater recompense than a motive of emulation and encouragement, the difference in wages ought to be based on the scale of work done;[17] an entirely new form of education in this respect would completely change the ideas and customs. It is not necessary to say that the wages, in all cases, must be sufficient for the subsistence of the workman.

For the first years after the workshops are established, the government ought to regulate the scale of employment. After the first year it is no longer necessary, the laborers would then have time enough to truly estimate their respective work, and, all

17. Blanc did not demand equality of wages in the first edition; in the fifth edition he mentions it but by the ninth abandons the idea as too many had bitterly opposed it.

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being equally interested as we will soon see, the success of the association would eventually depend on the elective principle.

Every year an account would be made of the net profit, which should be divided into three parts: one to be meted out equally to the members of the association; the other to be assigned (1) for the maintenance of the aged, the sick and infirm, (2) for meeting a crisis that oppresses other industries, in which case all industries must give help and succour; the third part to be laid aside to furnish implements of work to those who may enter into the association later. In such a way it could be expanded indefinitely.

In every one of those associations for industries which permit a wholesale trade, those could be admitted who belong to those trades whose nature forces them to work apart and individually. Thus every workshop could be composed of different trades grouped about a greater industry obeying the same laws and partaking of the same privileges.

Every member of the social workshops would have the right to use, according to his discretion, the profits of his labor; but it would not be long before the evident economy and the incontestable excellence of this communal life would call forth other voluntary associations among the workmen according to their needs and pleasures.

Capitalists can also be taken into the association and would draw interest on their invested money, which would be guaranteed by the budget; but in the profits they would participate only if they were laborers at the same time.

If the social workshops were once established according to these principles, you could easily understand what the results would be. In every great industry, in machinery, for example, or the silk or cotton industry, or in printing establishments, the social workshops would be in competition with private industries. Would the fight be a long one? No, for the social workshops would have advantages over the others, the results of the cheaper communal life and through the organization by which all laborers, without exception, are interested in producing good and quick work. Would the fight be subversive? No, for the government would always endeavor to prevent the prices of the products of the social workshops from dropping to too low a level. If today an extremely rich man were to enter into a contest with another less wealthy, this unequal fight would be only disastrous, for the

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private man looks only to his personal interest, if he can sell twice as cheap as his competitors, he will do so, in order to ruin them and be master of the situation. But when the power itself steps into the place of a private individual, the question develops a different phase.

The government of which we are speaking, has it any interest in upsetting industry and destroying its existence? Is it not rather by the virtue of its position the born protector even of those against whom, in its effort to transform society, it is waging a righteous competition? Therefore a comparison is not possible between the industrial war which the great capitalist today declares against the smaller capitalist, and the war which the government would declare in our system against an individual. The first necessarily consecrates fraud, violence and all evil which iniquity carries in its wake, the second would be conducted without brutality, without wreckage and in a manner to obtain only its aim: its peaceful and successive absorption of private workshops through social ones. In this manner instead of being, as every great capitalist is to-day, the master and tyrant of the market, the government would be its regulator. It would use competition as a weapon, not to destroy private industries without consideration, which would be to its own interest to avoid, but to guide them imperceptibly into the new system. Soon, indeed, workmen and capitalists would crowd to every industrial sphere where social workshops are opened, on account of the privileges they offer to their members. After a certain time we could see, how production takes place, without usurpation, without injustice, without irreparable disasters, and for the profit of the principle of association, a phenomenon which is today so deplorably brought forth and only by force of tyranny for the profit of individual egotism. Today a rich manufacturer can strike a heavy blow at his rivals, leave them dead on the spot and monopolize a whole branch of industry; in our system, the State would constitute itself, by and by, as master of industry and in place of monopoly we have obtained, as the result of success, the subversion of competition: association.

Suppose that this aim is reached in any particular branch of industry; suppose that the manufacturers of machinery, for instance, place themselves at the service of the State, that means submit themselves to the principles of communal management. As one and the same industry is not always carried on in one

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place but in different centers, it would be more just to introduce into all workshops, which belong to the same industry, the system of association. For, after having killed competition among individuals, it would be absurd to let it subsist among corporations. Therefore, in each sphere of work, which is placed under the dominion of the government, a central workshop must be established, to which all others would be in the position of supplementary workshops. Just as Rothschild possesses not only business houses in France, but in all different countries of the world, which correspond to the home office, in the same way each industry should have its central establishment and its affiliated branches. This would be the end of competition. The different centers of production would be bound together by the same common interest, and the ruinous hostility of effort would be replaced by their union.

I shall not dwell upon the simplicity of this mechanism; it is evident. We see indeed, that after the first year each workshop would be able to stand on its own feet and the State would restrict itself to superintending the maintenance of relations between all centers embracing the same kind of production and hindering the violation of the principles of the common order. Every kind of public service today presents a hundred fold more complications. Think for a moment of the conditions, under which everybody would be permitted to take upon himself the transportation of letters and the government should step in declaring: "To me alone belongs the mail service." How many objections would be raised then? How shall the government undertake to transmit exactly to the minute, all that 34 million people can write every day and every hour, to other 34 million people? And with what admirable exactness is the service in the post-offices carried on! Nevertheless, not counting certain little shortcomings, which have their reason not as much in the nature of the mechanism as in the poor condition of the Government, under which we have lived to the present time, we know with what marvellous precision the postal service has been carried on. I do not speak of our administration and the regularity of the workings of this immense machine! Indeed, the way the divisions and subdivisions work, leads us to the idea that this apparently complicated mechanism moves automatically. Why should it be impossible for the laborers to act together, in a country where twenty years ago, we saw one man animate ten million people at his will, infuse his life into them and

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make them follow in his foot-steps? It is true that his work was destructive. But is it in the nature of things, in the will of God, in the decrees of fate, that to produce in common should be impossible, while to destroy in common seems to be so easy? At last, I repeat it, the State with its immense resources of every kind, should perform that, which we see accomplished daily by each single individual.

From the common interest of all the laborers in the same workshop we infer the common interest of all workshops in the same industry. In order to complete the system, we must establish the solidarity of the various industries. Therefore, from the profit yielded by each industry, we must set aside a sum by means of which the State could give aid to every industry, which has suffered through extraordinary and unforeseen circumstances. Besides, in the system which we propose, crises would become rare. What causes them most frequently to-day? The veritable murderous contest between the interests, a contest from which no victor can come forth without leaving conquered ones on the field of battle; a combat, that like all wars, chains slaves to the chariot of the victor. In destroying competition we strangle at the same time the evils which it brings forth. No more victories and no more defeats! Then crises can only be caused from the outside. It would only be necessary to ward them off. The treaties of peace and of alliance would, doubtlessly, be insufficient; but how many disasters could be averted, if in place of this despicable diplomacy, this fight of hypocrisy, falsehood and baseness, which divides nations amongst a group of successful brigands, we substitute a system of alliance, based on the needs of industry and the reciprocal demands of laborers in all parts of the world. But mark well, this new kind of diplomacy will be impracticable, so long as the industrial anarchy, which threatens to devour us reigns. In the courts of inquiry, which have been established for several years, only too much of this has already been made public. What unfortunate spectacles have we witnessed? Have not these courts of inquiry shown us the peasant waging war against the manufacturer of beet-sugar, the mechanic against the blacksmith, the harbor against factories in the interior, Bordeaux against Paris, the South against the North, all who produce against all consumers? What can the government accomplish in the face of such a monstrous disorder? What some demand in haste, others hurl back furiously; what enlivens one, kills another. It is clear,

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that this absence of solidarity among interests, robs the State of all possibility of being precautious and enchains it in all relations to the foreign powers. Soldiers on the outside, police on the inside; the present State has no means of action and its whole activity is necessarily limited in checking destruction on one hand and in exercising it on the other. The State should place itself resolutely at the head of industry by rallying around one principle all those forces, all those interests, which to-day struggle against each other, then its external activity will be more prudent, more fertile, more fortunate and more decisive! Thus the reorganization of labor will not only obviate crises, which originate in our midst, but also, most of those which the wind that blows the sail of our ships, conveys to us from outside!

Is it necessary that I should continue to enumerate the advantages which the new system brings about? In the industrial world in which we live, all the discoveries of science are a calamity, first because the machines supplant the laborers who need work to live, and then, because they are also murderous weapons, furnished to industry which has the right and faculty to use them against all those who have not this right and power. What does *"new machines"* mean in the system of competition? It means monopoly; we have proven it. However, in the new system of association and solidarity there are no patents for inventors, no individual exploitation. The inventor will be recompensed by the State and his discovery is then placed at the service of all. What is to-day a means of extermination, becomes an instrument of universal progress; what to-day reduces the laborer to hunger, to despair and drives him to revolt, will serve only to render his task lighter and to produce a sufficient leisure to live a life of intelligence and happiness, in one word, that which has tolerated tyranny will aid in the triumph of fraternity.

In the inconceivable confusion, into which we are plunged to-day, commerce does not and can not depend on production. Production is forced to find among consumers all those producers who are striving to wrest consumers from each other, just as the brokers and curbstone-brokers, the great merchants and the small merchants do. Commerce thus becomes the open sore of production. Placed between the laborer who works and him who consumes, commerce rules the one as well as the other. Fourier, who through his vigorous attack on the present economic order, and after him his pupil, Victor Considerant, have, with an irresist-

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ible logic, laid bare the great open wound of society, which we call commerce. The merchant ought to be the agent of production, sharing equally in its benefits and chances. That is what reason tells us and what universal utility imperiously demands. In this system which we propose, nothing is easier to realize. All hostilities ceasing between the various centers of production, within a given industry, there will be, here and there, as to-day in the greater commercial houses, branch stores to meet the demand of consumption.

What place has credit in this system? To furnish tools to the laborer. Today credit is, as we have already proven, something quite different.[18] Banks do not loan except to the rich. Even if they would loan to the poor, they could not do it without ruining themselves. The banks, established only from the viewpoint of individualism, could not be anything else than an admirably conceived means to make the rich wealthier and the mighty more powerful. Everywhere monopoly under the guise of freedom, everywhere tyranny under the appearance of progress! The proposed organization would make short process with such crimes. That part of the profit which is especially and invariably laid aside for the increase of the social workshops through recruitment of laborers, this furnishes the means of credit. Of what need would banks be now? Suppress them.

Would an excess of population be feared if an income would be assured to every laborer who would necessarily adapt himself to the idea of order and the habits of prudence? Why is misery to-day more prolific than wealth? We have given the reasons.

In a system where every sphere of industry would gather together a certain number of men animated by the same spirit, acting under the same impulse, having common hopes, common interests, where would be the place, I ask you, for these adulterations of products, these cowardly subterfuges, these daily lies, these subtle frauds which to-day compel each producer, every merchant, cost what it may, to take away from his neighbor his customers and his fortune? Industrial reform would in this way mean a profound moral revolution and would bring about in one day more conversions than all sermons of preachers and all speeches of moralists could in a century.

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18. Author's Note—See the article entitled *Question des Banques*, in the Revue du Progrès of Dec. 1, 1839.

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What we have just said of the industrial reform will suffice to show according to what fundamental principles and bases the agricultural reform has been working. The abuse of collateral succession is universally recognized. These successions should be abolished and the property represented by them should be made communal property. Each community will in this way build up a domain which will be inalienable and, not being capable of being extended, will bring about without division and usurpation a great agricultural revolution. The exploitation of the communal domain, however, will take place necessarily on a much larger scale and in accordance with these laws which regulate industry. We return to this subject which demands further development.

We have seen why the education of the children of the people is impossible under the present system. In our system it would be possible in such a way that we could make it obligatory and gratuitous at the same time. If the means for subsistence of each laborer were assured and his wages were sufficient, what right would he have to refuse to send his children to school? There are serious men who think that it is dangerous to-day to spread learning throughout the ranks of the people, and they are right. But do they not see that this danger of education is an overwhelming proof of the absurdity of our social order? Everything is wrong in these conditions: work is no honor, the most useful employments are disdained; a laborer is more or less an object of compassion, while they have not flowers enough for a ballet dancer. This is why the education of the people is a danger. This is why our colleges and our schools only throw upon our society ambitious, discontented men and boasters. But let us help the people read good books; let us teach them that the most useful are also the most honorable; that there are only arts in society, no trades; that nothing deserves contempt, except that which corrupts the soul and infuses it with the poison of pride, holding aloof from it the practice of fraternity and inculcating egotism. Then let us show these children that society is governed by the principles that are taught them: would education be dangerous then? They make a foot-stool of education for all apparently foolish vanities, for all barren pretensions and then fling an anathema against instruction. They write bad books based on bad examples and they believe themselves sufficiently authorized to forbid reading! What a pity!

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Let us sum up the whole. An economic revolution must be attempted:

1—Because the present social conditions are too full of misery, iniquity and turpitude, to last much longer.

2—Because everybody, irrespective of position, rank or fortune, is interested in the creation of a new social order.

3—Finally because it is possible, even easy, to produce this necessary revolution in a peaceful way.

In the new world into which we could enter, some things, perhaps, must be accomplished for the complete realization of the principle of fraternity. But at least all would be prepared for this realization, which would be the work of education. Humanity has been too far separated from its goal to reach it in one day. The corrupt civilization, under the yoke of which we still groan, has disturbed all interests, but at the same time it has lost all reason and has poisoned all springs of human intelligence. Iniquity has taken the place of justice, falsehood has become truth and men tear each other to pieces under the protection of darkness.

Many false ideas must be destroyed; doubtlessly we can count upon their disappearing. The day will come, when we will acknowledge that he, whom God has endowed with more strength, or greater intelligence, must do more for his fellow men. Then let genius, and it is fully worthy of it, exercise its legitimate power, not by means of the tribute which it levies upon society, but by the grandeur of the services which it will render to society. For the inequality of capabilities has for its goal, not the inequalities of rights, but the inequalities of duties.

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Competitive and Monopoly Price

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Competitive and Monopoly Price

A criticism of current theory with special reference to its bearing upon the trust problem

By

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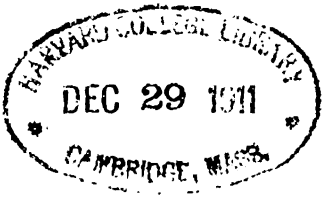

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Competitive and Monopoly Price

I

THE BASIS OF THE PRESENT TRUST POLICY

THE present trust policy of the United States is an attempt to destroy monopoly and thereby leave the field to competitive industry. This policy finds expression in the anti-trust laws of the United States and of the several States; in their judicial interpretation; in the demand that these laws be more rigorously enforced; and in various proposals to amend the laws so as the more surely to accomplish their purpose, wherever in their present form they are inadequate to the annihilation of monopoly.

Many illustrations might be given to exemplify this policy. One will, however, suffice for the present purpose. The Anti-Trust law of the United States declares that:

> "Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal."
>
> "Every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire

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> with any other person or persons to monopolize, any part of the trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, . . ."[1]

This law has been the subject of numerous court decisions, including several by the Supreme Court of the United States. Among the most important cases to reach this high tribunal was the one known as the *Northern Securities* case, which was decided in 1903. The opinion, affirming the decree of the circuit court against the Northern Securities Company, was prepared by the late Mr. Justice Harlan. In this opinion, after extended reference to previous decisions of the Court, several propositions were stated as deducible from those decisions. Among these propositions are the following:

> "That Congress has the power to establish rules by which interstate and international commerce shall be governed, and, by the Anti-Trust Act, has prescribed the *rule of free competition* among those engaged in such commerce."
>
> "That the *natural effect of competition is to increase commerce,* and an agreement whose direct effect is to prevent this play of competition restrains instead of promotes trade and commerce."
>
> "That to vitiate a combination, such as the act of Congress condemns, it need not be shown that the combination, in fact, results or will result in a total suppression of trade or in a *complete monopoly,* but it is only essential to show that by its necessary operation, it tends to restrain interstate or international trade or commerce or *tends to create a monopoly* in such trade or commerce and to deprive the public of the *advantages that flow from free competition.*"[2]

[1] 26 Stat. at Large, 209, chap. 647, U. S. Comp. Stat. 1901, p. 3200.

[2] U. S. Reports, 193, pages 331, 332. Not italicized in the original.

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Throughout the opinion, numerous references are made to the "natural laws of competition," to the advantages arising therefrom, and to the purpose of the Act to secure the operation of those laws. Subsequent decisions containing further interpretations of the Act have not modified this fundamental attitude towards competition and monopoly. The so-called "rule of reason," recently applied to the enforcement of the law, has gone no further than to recognize that not all suppression of competition is necessarily in restraint of trade. The intent of the law remains, as before, to prevent monopoly and to secure free competition.

Moreover, in this intent, the Anti-Trust law voices correctly public opinion. Although there is widespread dissatisfaction with the results that have been attained under it, popular confidence in its fundamental purpose continues undiminished.

An explanation of this general attitude condemning monopoly and approving competition is to be found in an intuitive belief in the doctrine of "fair price."

The idea that some prices are fair and others unfair is practically universal. This idea has existed for centuries, perhaps as long as buying and selling themselves have existed. During the Middle Ages it was known as the doctrine of "just price," an admirable description of which is found in Professor W. J. Ashley's "English Economic History." At that time it was taught that "in any particular country or district there is for every article, at any particular time, some one just price: that prices, accordingly, should not vary with momentary supply and demand, with individual caprice, or skill in the chaffering of the market. It is the moral duty of buyer and seller to try to arrive, as nearly as possible, at this just price."[3] Moreover, "as experience showed

[3] Vol. I, p. 146.

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that individuals could not be trusted thus to admit the real value of things, it followed that it was the duty of the proper authorities of State, town, or guild to step in and determine what the just and reasonable price really was."[4]

The application of such a principle to actual business transactions necessitated a standard by which to determine whether the prices at which commodities and services were offered for sale were just or unjust. Such a standard was found for the producer of that time, not in "what would enable him to make a gain," but in "what would permit him to live a decent life according to the standard of comfort which public opinion recognized as appropriate to his class."[5] Moreover, it may be noted in passing, this standard was not ill-adapted to the conditions then prevailing, when business intercourse was on a small scale, the market for most articles was a limited one, and the consumer and producer as a rule dealt directly with each other.

With the passing of years, new industrial conditions developed to which old ideas and old policies were no longer suited. But there remained and still remains the basic idea of fair price. There has come, however, a new standard by which to determine fairness and a new view as to the proper method for securing fairness.

It is, perhaps, too much to affirm that the present standard of fair price has been definitely formulated. Nor it is intended here to enter upon a full discussion of this subject; though, in view of the controversy over "earned" and "unearned" increments and of the increasing tendency to call in the aid of public authority to secure reasonable charges, there is developing an urgent need for a thorough analysis of the basis of fairness with a view to arriving at a reasonable standard.

[4] *Ibid.* 140. [5] *Ibid.* 138.

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In general, it is probably correct to say that in the efforts to prevent unfair prices at the present time, the test applied is gain or, as it is commonly called, profits. A fair price is one which yields fair profits. Just what are fair profits in any particular case is not easy to determine, but it is certain that the concept of fair profits as a test of fair prices does not mean a definite, universally applicable per cent of some arbitrarily selected base. Fair profits mean a fair return for those engaged in business, due account being taken of the character of the business, the capital required, the risks involved, and the ability demanded of those who become responsible for the initiation and conduct of business.

The absence of a definitely formulated standard for determining fairness is not a mere accident. It is due to the prevailing view as to the method by which fairness is to be secured—a method under which the question of what is fair may be left to take care of itself; for fairness, it is believed, will follow as a matter of course from the method of securing it. That method is free competition. Whereas, formerly public authority exercised directly upon price was relied upon to insure justice, to-day the same end is sought by procuring the unimpeded operation of competition.

True, it has come to be recognized that there is a field of activity in which competition is not effective. Such, for example, is the case with telephone, lighting, and other similar industries. Here Government regulation is acccepted as essential. But so far as the broad field of general industry is concerned, public opinion still holds to the idea that free competition is society's safeguard against injustice, and that public authority is needed here, if at all, only to assist in securing free competition. Competitive price is fair; monopoly price is unfair.

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To this view, entertained by society in general, exemplified by the anti-trust laws above mentioned, economists lend the weight of their authority. It must suffice for the present discussion to cite but one example of the teaching of current economics, but it is a typical one, taken from the latest edition of the "Outlines of Economics," by Professor Richard T. Ely and collaborators. Speaking of prices under competition, it is said that "if we include the value of the business man's services among the expenses of production," "the prices received for the products of any particular business" tend to equal "the expenses of producing them."[6]

Later, in discussing just price, it is said:

> "The competitive system is to-day so thoroughly accepted as the 'natural' economic order, that there is, as we have previously noted, *a deep-seated conviction that normal competitive prices (measured by the expenses of production) are natural and just prices.*[7] This conviction is, however, brought face to face with the fact of the growth of a large industrial field in which monopoly, rather than competition, rules. The question of just price is again a live issue—as it was before the growth of the competitive system. Public authority is frequently invoked to insure that the prices fixed by holders of municipal franches and other monopolists are just and reasonable. *The chief fundamental test which our courts are able to apply to the reasonableness of any particular price is its conformity to what the price would have been under competitive conditions.*[7] Thus it is often asked if a particular monopoly charge gives a more than normal return upon the capital invested. The determination of what the expense of producing a particular commodity or service really is, is often a difficult, or even impossible, task

[6] p. 171. [7] Not italicised in the original.

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(the distinction between constant and variable expenses being frequently a stumbling-block), but, given the general acceptance of the competitive system, it is hard to see what other standard could be used."[8]

Few, if any, are satisfied with the results of our present anti-trust policy. Some are calling for more stringent enforcement of existing laws; others for amendments to those laws which shall remove all possible avenues of escape, especially those believed to be afforded by the latest Supreme Court decisions; while still others are asking for such a modification of our anti-trust policy as shall permit a distinction between good and bad trusts.

What, meanwhile, is to be said of the current economic doctrine of competitive and monopoly price,—a doctrine which is at the root of the whole matter?

[8] pp. 180, 181. In an earlier part of the treatise (p. 159) the reader is warned against the error of assuming "that competitive prices are in some way 'natural' and right prices," yet when the author himself proceeds to indicate a practical standard for determining the "reasonableness of any particular price," he finds it "hard to see what other standard could be used" than "its conformity to what the price would have been under competitive conditions."

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II

THE CURRENT THEORY OF PRICE

As it is the purpose of this paper to analyze the current theory of price with a view to judging its validity, it is necessary to state in this connection just what this theory is; though, as the subject is fully set forth in numerous available treatises on economics, only its salient features need be described here.[1]

Current theory recognizes two sorts of price, designated respectively competitive price and monopoly price. Corresponding to these are two classes of business, competitive industries and monopolies.

Competitive price exists when competition is free, and it equals cost of production. By cost of production is meant the actual expense of producing plus what may be called normal profits. To avoid misunderstanding, this may be called social cost of production. To the individual, cost of production means of course the amount which he must pay for raw materials, wages, interest on capital, and such other outlays as are incident to the production and sale of goods. These expenses

[1] The illustrations of current theory in the following description are taken from the *Outlines of Economics*, by Richard T. Ely, revised and enlarged by the author and Thomas S. Adams, Max O. Lorenz and Allyn A. Young, published by The Macmillan Company, New York, 1909. Essentially similar illustrations are afforded by all standard treatises on Economics. See, for example, Seligman's *Principles of Economics*, Part III, Book I. Value: General Principles; and Seager's *Introduction to Economics*, Chap. V, Value and Price, and Chap. XI, Distribution: Monopoly Profits.

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are deducted from the amount received from sales, and the difference constitutes his profits. But, viewed from the standpoint of the consumer, profits are the payment for the services of the one who provides the business ability without which commodities can no more be produced than without labor, for which wages are paid. From the standpoint of society, then, it is proper to include at least normal profits as a part of cost of production.

Just what normal profits are, as was pointed out above,[2] can not be stated precisely as a certain per cent or as a fixed amount. Yet that such a thing as normal profits exists as a feature of current thought, is evidenced by the not infrequent reference to profits in some transactions as abnormal. Normal profits will of course vary with the quality of business ability required in various undertakings, the risk involved, and other attending conditions,—in brief, with the character of the business. A sufficiently accurate description of normal profits is afforded by the statement that profits may be considered normal in any industry when they afford no special or extra inducement to enter the business or to leave it.

Competitive price, then, tends to equal social cost of production.

> "If it were always an easy matter for business men to change their interests and their energies from one line of production to another, and if capital and labor could likewise be freely transferred from one undertaking to another, it is hard to see how profits in any one competitive business could be for any length of time much higher than in other competitive businesses. Managerial ability, labor, and capital would gravitate always toward those employments

[2] p. 9.

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> which promised the greatest profits. The effect would be a continual tendency toward equality of advantage in different lines of business. This does not mean necessarily an equality of profits as between individuals in any given lines of business, for the amount of profits depends largely upon the skill and enterprise of the individual business man. . . . Purely competitive profits, under conditions of absolute 'fluidity' of business ability, of labor, and of capital, would thus tend to adjust themselves according to the ability of the individual business man; . . . If we include the value of the business man's services among the expenses of production, we may, obviously, state the tendency which we have described as a tendency toward the equality of the prices received for the products of any particular business and the expenses of producing them."[8]

The proposition that price equals social cost of production assumes a condition of free competition, and it is important to note what is meant by such a condition. From the above description of the nature and tendency of competitive price, it will be seen that competition is considered free when capital, labor, and business ability can move with perfect freedom from one industry to another. This is often called a condition of perfect fluidity, and the designation is a fortunate one, for there is involved an analogy to the tendency of water to seek the same level in several different receptacles which are so connected that the water can pass freely from one to another.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that those who accept the doctrine of price here described believe that productive agencies are or ever can be perfectly fluid or that competition is, even under so-called competitive conditions, ever absolutely free. On the con-

[8] Ely, pp. 170, 171.

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trary, it is recognized that co-operation and custom modify the working of competition, while at times the state, in order to raise the plane of competition, "sets limits to the rivalry," which is the essence of competition, as, for example, when it regulates the labor of women and children, requires safety appliances and sanitary conditions, limits the right of contract in the case of injury, and so forth.[4]

Nor is perfect fluidity necessary to the existence of competitive price, for there is always some free capital, free labor, and free business ability seeking a field of operation, and at the same time the capital, labor, and business ability now employed tend to wear out and disappear. The new will seek the fields offering highest returns, while, as the old disappears, it will not be renewed in those industries which yield less than normal returns.

> "Managerial ability, labor, and capital are all specialized to a greater or less extent, so that they can not be changed from one employment to another without loss of efficiency. But it is not necessary for the validity of our analysis that *all* managerial ability, *all* labor, and *all* capital should be fluid enough to change from industry to industry economically. There are always a certain number of business men who are anxiously watching for the most inviting business opportunities; there is always a certain amount of labor awaiting the most remunerative employment, and there is always a certain amount of money awaiting investment in those forms of capital goods which produce the greatest value. These facts are enough to give substantial truth to the statement that in any competitive industry the price of the commodity produced tends to equal the cost of producing it."[5]

[4] Ely, p. 26, *et seq.* [5] Ely, pp. 171, 172.

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In sharp contrast to competitive price is monopoly price, or the price of a commodity produced under conditions of monopoly. While under competition price is fixed at social cost of production, under monopoly price is fixed at that point which will yield the largest net returns. As has been seen, social cost of production means cost to the individual producer plus a normal profit to him. So by way of emphasizing the contrast between the two sorts of price, it may be said that competitive price is determined by normal profits, monopoly price by largest profits.

In deciding at what price to offer his goods for sale, the monopolist proceeds upon the well-known tendency for sales to decrease when prices increase and for sales to increase when prices decrease. Net returns are the product of two factors: the profit on a unit of sales, such as a bushel of wheat, a pair of shoes, etc., and the number of units sold. When, therefore, a monopolist seeks to increase his total profits by increasing the price of his commodity, he must take into account the fact that such an increase in price may be expected to result in a decrease in sales, and this in the ultimate outcome may result in decreasing the sum total of his profits. On the other hand, although lowering the price of his commodity will probably lead to larger sales, the increase in profits that might be expected from such increase in sales may be more than offset by the decreased rate of profit per unit. At some point the relation between rate of profit and extent of sales will be such as to yield the largest total profits, and, having a monopoly, he will, so far as his judgment of conditions enables him to do so, fix the price at that point.

Such, in brief, is the process by which monopoly price is determined. A full description of monopoly price

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would necessitate some modification of this statement. For example, there may be more than one price that would yield the same maximum of net returns. But the fundamental principle involved, i. e., that monopoly price is determined by largest profits, would still be valid.

The following table, taken from Professor Ely's "Outlines of Economics,"[6] will illustrate the working of these principles:

PRICE PER UNIT	NUMBER OF SALES	TOTAL EARNINGS	VARIABLE EXPENSES PER UNIT	TOTAL VARIABLE EXPENSES	FIXED EXPENSES	TOTAL EXPENSES	NET REVENUE
$0.10	600,000	$60,000	$0.03	$18,000	$50,000	$68,000	—$8,000
.09	800,000	72,000	.03	24,000	50,000	74,000	— 2,000
.08	1,200,000	96,000	.03	36,000	50,000	86,000	+10,000
.07	1,800,000	126,000	.03	54,000	50,000	104,000	+22,000
.06	2,500,000	150,000	.03	75,000	50,000	125,000	+25,000
.05	3,500,000	175,000	.03	100,000	50,000	155,000	+20,000
.04	5,500,000	220,000	.03	165,000	50,000	215,000	+ 5,000

Commenting upon this illustration, the author says:

> "Study of the table will show why, in the case assumed here, the monopoly price will stand at six cents. Competition, if it were present, would keep on increasing the supply as long as normal profit could be obtained. In our illustration the lowest price at which production could be carried on so as just to secure a profit above the expenses of production would be four cents; and four cents would therefore be the competitive price. . . . But since the mo-

[6] p. 199.

This table does not, of course, attempt to show just what rate of decrease in number of sales would result from the assumed increase in price. In practice the decrease would vary with different commodities and with the same commodity at different times. Moreover, in actual business the variable expenses per unit would not be constant, as it frequently happens that the larger the amount produced the less the expense of production per unit. Neither of these features of the example, however, is at all inconsistent with the principles which it is intended to illustrate

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> nopolist has such control over the production that he can control the supply, he will cut off production at 2,500,000 units, at which point demand will fix a price of six cents, and will give the largest net return, viz., $25,000."[7]

The term "monopoly" as commonly employed often lacks that precision of definition which scientific analysis would require, yet its meaning is fairly clear. It is intended to designate a condition in which those who sell have such control over the supply of their commodities that they are able to fix the prices at which the commodities are sold. As stated in the treatise from which the above illustration is taken:

> "Monopoly means that substantial unity of action on the part of one or more persons engaged in some kind of business which gives exclusive control, more particularly, although not solely, with respect to price."[8]

It is recognized that monopoly is not always complete and absolute. The definition refers to "a perfect type of monopoly," whereas, just as in the case of competitive price, competition may not be perfectly free, so, in the case of monopoly price, monopoly may be incomplete.

> "We have a partial monopoly where there is a unified control over a considerable portion of the industrial field, but not over a sufficient portion to give complete domination of the whole field."[9]

Nevertheless, and this is the important fact, whether competition is free or limited, and monopoly complete or incomplete, *the fields of competition and monopoly are considered to be distinct.*

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[7] p. 200. [8] p. 188. [9] p. 191.

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> "Our conclusion, then, may be stated as follows: There is a great and growing field of industry in which competition is not natural or permanently possible, for reasons explained in the text; there is another field within which monopoly does not and can not exist."[10]

The main points in the current theory of price may be thus summarized:

1. There are two sorts of price, competitive and monopoly, each of which is determined in accordance with a principle peculiar to it and quite unlike that in accordance with which the other is determined.

2. The essential condition of competition is fluidity, i. e., transferability, of capital, labor, and business ability from one industry to another.

3. Price under competition is determined by social cost of production, for, on the one hand, if price rises above this, profits will rise above the normal, others will be attracted into the industry, production will be increased, and price will fall; while, on the other hand, if price falls below social cost, profits will fall below the normal, some will leave the industry, production will be decreased, and price will rise.

4. The essential condition of monopoly is such unity of action on the part of sellers as gives them exclusive control over price.

5. Price under monopoly is determined by the point that will yield the largest net returns. If, on the one hand, price rises above this point, the loss from the resulting decrease in sales will more than offset the gain from the accompanying increase in the rate of profit; while, on the other hand, if price falls below this point, the loss from the resulting decrease in the rate of profit more than offsets the gain from the accompanying increase in sales. In either case net profits are reduced.

[10] Ely, p. 196.

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The practical teaching of this theory of price is apparent: Except in the distinct field where monopoly is natural, make competition free and there will follow normal profits and, by consequence, fair price. Is the theory valid?

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III

HOW PRICES ARE DETERMINED

In examining the current theory of price with a view to determining whether its explanation is correct and satisfactory, we will begin with an analysis and comparison of the influences that determine competitive price and monopoly price respectively.

It will be observed that in showing that competitive price tends to equal social cost of production, the method employed is to show that price under the competitive conditions assumed will not permanently remain above or below social cost. In like manner, the method employed to prove that monopoly price tends to the point of largest returns is to show that price under the monopolistic conditions assumed will not permanently remain above or below that point. It will facilitate a comparison of the principles according to which each of these two kinds of price is determined, to bring together for comparison, first, the influences which prevent each from permanently remaining above the points stated, and then the influences which prevent each from remaining below the respective points.

Turning, first, to competitive price, it may be asked: Why does competitive price not rise above social cost? The many forms in which the answer to this query might be put are reducible to one, viz., because of competition. Thus, if shoes are being produced under so-called com-

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petitive conditions and $4 per pair yields to the producer a fair profit, the price of these shoes can not permanently remain above $4. For a time, it is true, before conditions can readjust themselves, a seller may be able to get $4.50 per pair, but as this yields more than a normal profit, others will be drawn to the shoe industry and competition will cause the price to fall until it reaches $4.

On the other hand, to the question, Why does monopoly price not rise higher than it does? the answer given is: Because if it did, net profits would be less owing to a falling off in sales for which the increased rate of profit per unit would not compensate. Thus, if for any reason monopoly should come to exist in the production of shoes, those in the monopoly would no longer be deterred from raising the price above $4 per pair by fear of competition with other shoe manufacturers. They would, therefore, raise the price until the decrease in sales would lessen net profits.

This explanation is usually considered wholly adequate to account for the limit to the tendency of monopoly price upward. It is undoubtedly correct *as far as it goes*. But does it go far enough? Does this enable us to compare the influence that keeps monopoly price from going higher with the influence that keeps competitive price from going higher? In the case of the sale of shoes under competition, the seller can not get more than $4 per pair because if he asks $4.50, the would-be purchaser will go to another dealer, and these two sellers of shoes are said to be competitors because they are rivals in seeking the patronage of purchasers, each trying to attract customers by offering a better inducement than his rival in the shape of a lower price.

When it is said that monopoly price is kept from going higher because of the loss in net profits that would

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result from the falling off in sales, it becomes important to inquire why there would be a falling off in sales. Why, in the illustration given[1] of the method of determining monopoly price, are but 1,800,000 sold yielding $126,000 when the price is 7 cents, while 2,500,000 are sold for $150,000 when the price is 6 cents? What becomes of the $24,000 that is not spent for this commodity, when the price is raised to 7 cents? To these questions the manifest answer is: When the price is raised from 6 to 7 cents, purchasing power to the extent of $24,000 is diverted into other channels. It goes for the purchase of other commodities which are preferred to this commodity at a price of 7 cents.

This fact suggests another query: What relation do the sellers of the other commodities sustain to those who sell the commodity assumed in the illustration? Here, again, the answer is clear: They are rivals for the patronage of purchasers; that is to say, *they are competitors*. True, competitors are often spoken of as though they were necessarily rivals in the same business. A moment's consideration, however, should suffice to show that as business phenomena, there is no difference *in kind* between the rivalry of those selling the same sort of goods and the rivalry of those selling different sorts of goods, so long as the rivalry results from the fact that each is trying to offer such attractive inducements as to lead people to buy his wares rather than the wares of the same or different sorts offered by others. The extent and force of competition in the business world are but faintly appreciated by those who limit their concept of competition to rivalry between those in the same kind of business. As has so truly been said by Professor Ely:

[1] See above p. 17.

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> "The competition of the market embraces not only the buying and selling of a given commodity (like wood), but also the buying and selling of *all commodities. In this sense the wood dealers compete with the grocers and the tailors, as well as with coal dealers and with each other.*"[2]

There is undoubtedly a difference between the rivalry of those who sell like commodities and the rivalry of those who seel unlike commodities. But this difference does not lie in the fact that one is competition and the other is not competition. Rivalry between those who sell like commodities is probably, as a rule, more intense than that between sellers of unlike commodities, but this is a difference in degree, not in kind. This does not mean that the difference is unimportant. The very fact that in some instances the competition that exists is too feeble to stop the upward tendency in price at the point which suffices for fair profits, may justify steps to supplement such inadequate competition. But the fact remains, and its ultimate consequence is by no means slight, that it is competition that prevents price from going higher both in the case of competitive price and in the case of monopoly price. In the ultimate analysis, the statement that monopoly price is determined by the point that will yield the largest net returns means only, so far as the upward tendency of monopoly price is concerned, that it is determined by the point which *under the existing condition of competition* will yield the largest net returns. And it is equally true of competitive price that it, too, is determined in its upward tendency by the point which under the existing condition of competition will yield the largest net returns. This point in the case of monopoly price may be much above the point in the

[2] *Outlines of Economics*, p. 163. Not italicized in the original.

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case of competitive price; but this is not due to the fact that different kinds of influences set the limits. It is due, rather, to the fact that competition works in each of the two cases with differing effectiveness.

Taking up next the influences which keep competitive and monopoly price from going below certain points, it will be recalled that current theory teaches that competitive price does not permanently remain below social cost of production, and that monopoly price is maintained up to the point of maximum returns. The first question to be considered here is: Why can monopoly price be kept up to the point specified? Whatever may be the forms which the answers to this query take, they will amount practically to this,—because of the existence of "substantial unity of action on the part of" the person or persons engaged in the business, a unity of action which results in control over the supply of that which the purchaser seeks to obtain. The monopolist, it is said, "freed from competition, and governed only by demand, is able to adjust supply to demand in such a way that the price will stand at the point of highest net return."[8]

On the other hand, when competitive price is under consideration, the reason assigned for its maintenance at social cost of production is that if price falls below this, some will go out of business, production will be decreased, and price will go up. This answer is not satisfactory because it involves the implication that price has within itself some spontaneous force such that, once influences holding it down are removed, price will of its own accord *go* up. Price does not *go* up; it is *put* up. If, in the case of the shoes mentioned above, competition among the sellers results in the price being reduced to

[8] Ely, p. 198.

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$3 a pair,—$4 being assumed necessary to normal profits,—it may be expected that in time some will go from the manufacture of shoes to other fields where at least normal profits can be realized. But this fact, even if it results in the manufacture of fewer shoes, is not sufficient to account for the restoration of the price of shoes to its former so-called competitive figure, $4. So long as two producers remain in the field *and continue to compete*, price will continue to fall. Nor is this fact controverted by the truth that producers can not continue indefinitely to produce at a loss. The significance of this lies, not in controverting the proposition that if producers continue to compete, price will continue to fall, but in the fact that producers can not continue to compete indefinitely.

Furthermore, the mere cessation of competition is not of itself sufficient to explain the restoration of price to $4, which may be called its normal point, and this for the reason just given, that price does not move automatically. If competition drives price below cost of production, price will move up, as has been said, only when it is put up, and *it will be put up only when there is such "substantial unity of action" among those remaining in the business as to give a control over supply* sufficient at least to enable them to bring the price back again to its normal point.

It is important to distinguish here between the fact of "substantial unity of action on the part of one or more persons engaged in" a business, and the method employed to secure such unity of action,—a distinction fundamental to this analysis, but often overlooked. When competition drives price below cost of production, "unity of action" may follow merely because one person is stronger than his competitors and is thereby enabled to hold out

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until they are driven into bankruptcy, leaving him a free field; or it may result from the purchase by one of the interests of the others; or, again, it may arise from an agreement between the competitors,—assuming the absence of a law to the contrary,—by which they contract not only to suspend competition, but also to unite in raising the price; or, finally, the substantial unity of action, without which price can not be put up, may come to exist without bankruptcy, purchase, or agreement, but merely as the result of an independent recognition by each that he is a loser from unreasonable competition and will be a gainer by spontaneously acting in union with the others. The permanence and efficiency of a unity of action that rests merely upon such a spontaneous recognition of mutuality of interests will be less than when that unity has for its basis an agreement or the elimination of one's competitors, but as a business phenomenon, unity of action is unity of action regardless of how it is brought about or of its effectiveness. Moreover, it is this unity of action and not competition which is responsible for the maintenance of price up to social cost when it is so maintained.

One other explanation of the return of competitive price to social cost calls for brief attention in passing. Some have ascribed this to competition among buyers. According to this view, competition among sellers keeps price down to social cost and competition among buyers keeps price up to social cost. Such a method of reasoning is nothing short of casuistical jugglery, worthy alone of the modern prestidigitator, for if this is an adequate explanation, we are forced to the conclusion that competition is everything and explains monopoly price as well as competitive price. The necessity of such a conclusion is apparent. If the return of price to social

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cost, after it has fallen below that point, is to be explained by the competition among buyers which arises when, owing to the low price, supply is decreased, an analogous and equally valid explanation is to be found in the case of monopoly price. It may be said that monopoly price is kept up to its high point by the competition among buyers which arises when the monopolist decreases the supply which he offers on the market. According to this method of analysis, it is, then, competition among buyers that keeps both competitive price up to the point of social cost and monopoly price up to the point of largest returns. Add this to the fact already shown, viz., that it is competition which keeps competitive price down to the point of social cost and monopoly price down to the point of largest returns, and the conclusion follows, as was said, that all price, monopoly as well as competitive, is determined by competition.

As a matter of fact, in so far as competition and unity of action are opposing influences in their effect on price, a valid analysis of price must begin by determining whether these influences are to be viewed as they appear in the acts of sellers or as they appear in the acts of buyers. Whichever standpoint may be adopted, logical consistency requires that it be retained throughout the analysis. In the present case competition and unity of action are viewed as the acts of sellers, because this seems the most common way of looking at them. Such, for example, is the case when competition is regarded as the safeguard of society against extortionate price to consumers. The competition here meant is clearly competition among sellers. Similarly, when monopoly is said to lead to exhorbitant prices, the monopoly thought of is a monopoly on the part of sellers.

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From the standpoint of the sellers, then, it is substantial unity of action on their part which is responsible for keeping price up to social cost, when it is so kept up. But, as was seen, it is also substantial unity of action which enables the monopolist to keep price up to the point of highest net returns. Moreover, *the unity of action which is effective in the case of competitive price is a phenomenon in no whit different in kind from the unity of action which is effective in the case of monopoly price. Such difference as exists is wholly one of degree.*

Lest the point here made should be misinterpreted, it may be permitted to repeat what was said in a similar connection in describing the relation of competition to competitive and monopoly price. The fact that it is the same influence which keeps both competitive price and monopoly price from going lower, the difference being one of degree, not of kind, does not warrant the conclusion that the difference is unimportant. Were unity of action to cease from further influence in increasing price when it sufficed to insure the producer a fair return, there would be no trust problem. It is, then, precisely because unity of action, which is necessary and useful to a degree, may and does go beyond the point of necessity and usefulness, that the monopoly problem exists.

Nevertheless, here as formerly the fact remains and is of practical moment, that it is unity of action on the part of sellers, involving a degree of control over supply, which is responsible for keeping price up, both in the case of monopoly price and in the case of competitive price. Putting this conclusion along with the similar one reached from an analysis of the reason why price does not go higher, it will be seen that current theory errs in two important respects: neither competitive price nor

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monopoly price is determined by one influence alone; nor do the influences which determine the one differ in kind from those which determine the other. Both are determined by the combined working (1) of competition and (2) of unity of action. When the former predominates, price falls; when the latter predominates, price rises; the actual price in any given case is the resultant of the two.

Two other important modifications of current theory follow as corollaries from the above analysis. First, as to the concept of monopoly. It is customary to define monopoly as such unity of action as gives the seller exclusive control over price.[4] It is to be assumed that the price referred to here is the price at which commodities are actually sold, and not merely the price at which they are offered for sale. But, in fact, the seller practically never has such exclusive control over price; the buyer always has something to say about the price at which a thing is sold, because he determines whether he will accept the terms offered or will go elsewhere, if not for the same kind of commodity, then for some other commodity. Competition in some degree is present.

This does not, however, dispose of the monopoly question, for the degree of control exercised by sellers may be so excessive as to work most serious injury. While, however, the rejection, as unsound, of the concept of absolute monopoly does not dispose of the monopoly problem, it does have a most important bearing upon the direction in which a rational solution of that problem is to be sought.

[4] A frequent cause of confusion in discussions of monopoly is found in the failure to distinguish between "control over a commodity" and "control over the price at which a commodity is sold." As was seen above (p. 18), Professor Ely regards control over price as the distinguishing characteristic of monopoly. After formulating his definition with much care, he says "Price is essential, and must be regarded as the fundamental test of monopoly." *Outlines of Economics*, p. 188.

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The other modification of current theory to which reference was made has to do with its teaching as to the condition essential to the existence of free competition. As was seen, it is usually taken for granted that perfect fluidity of capital, labor, and business ability would result in free competition. As a matter of fact, such is not the case. What would result if there were perfect fluidity is that competition would continue until the fair, normal profits of producers were threatened. At this point competition would tend to cease and unity of action would predominate over competition, restoring profits to their normal amount, and, perhaps, threatening, in turn, to make profits excessive, in which case there would be a renewed preponderance of competition. Current theory, then, is correct in teaching that under perfect fluidity of capital, labor, and business ability, price would equal social cost of production, but it errs in assigning as the reason for this the existence of free competition. It is due, rather, to the fact that under such perfect fluidity, the relation of competition and of unity of action would involve a balance at the point of social cost.

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IV

A TRUST POLICY FAIR TO BIG BUSINESS AND TO THE CONSUMER

THIS analysis of price and of the nature and working of the influences that determine price has, as already stated, some important bearings on the trust problem.

In the first place, the conclusions reached concerning price show that the proposition that all contracts and agreements which limit competition necessarily restrain trade, is indefensible, at least as far as trade in the long run is concerned. For, not to limit competition at the point where its further action will result in loss to producers means the ultimate bankruptcy of all but the strongest. And when this point is reached, competition is eliminated and trade restrained to a far greater degree than when there are several producers still in the field, even though they work together under some sort of an agreement.

It may be admitted that the immediate effect of lessening competition is to restrain trade, for competition means lowered prices and lowered prices mean, as a rule, larger sales. So, even the competition that brings actual loss to the competitors will lead to larger trade, but only temporarily. When such competition has worked out its inevitable result, it necessarily eliminates itself, and the result is loss to all. It is a truism, that the interests of the consumer quite as much as the interests of the

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producer call for fair profits to the latter. The so-called "rule of reason" as applied to the interpretation of the Anti-Trust law in the recent decisions of the Supreme Court in so far as it involves the principle that not all acts interfering with competition, but only such as unreasonably interfere with competition, restrain trade, is unquestionably sound. It is by no means improbable that if this view had been taken in the early interpretations of the Anti-Trust law, industrial consolidation would have developed at a much more moderate pace and the trust problem would be less acute.

A second point suggested by the analysis of price concerns the so-called "natural laws of competition," referred to in the Northern Securities case and not infrequently in the general discussion of the monopoly question. What are these "natural laws of competition" whose unimpeded operation conduces to public advantage? One might suppose, from the common use of the term, that there are certain well-known laws of competition natural to industry somewhat as there is a law of gravitation natural to the physical world. Especially is such an assumption warranted when, without stating these natural laws of competition, they are referred to, not incidentally, but as fundamental to the interpretation of a most important Federal law by the Supreme Court. But search for these laws is vain. No treatise on law or economics supplies them. They have never been formulated. They do not exist. As a matter of fact, the expression, "natural laws of competition," is but a method of referring to the widespread but largely unanalyzed opinion that "competition is the life of trade." Such crude concepts will no more suffice as the basis of a policy that is to govern the business of to-day than untested steel suffices as a basis of the vast engineering

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works of modern industry. When subjected to analysis, as has been shown, the natural results of competition, if left to itself, are its own destruction and public injury.

As was noted at the outset, the present trust policy seeks to eliminate certain forms of industry to the end that the field may be left to free competition, in the belief that free competition will insure fair price. Reference has also been made to the fact that up to the present, that policy has failed signally to accomplish the results expected. The measures thus far adopted have not secured the unimpeded working of competition. Not that these efforts have been wholly fruitless, but that the consensus of opinion is that an effective solution of the trust problem has not yet been enacted into law.

Various reasons for this failure are assigned and correspondingly various remedies are proposed. Their detailed consideration need not be entered upon here. The point that calls for emphasis in this connection is that, if the above criticism of the current views of price is valid, the measures already adopted were foredoomed to failure, as will be all other measures which rest upon the same basis. And for this reason: Granting that social cost of production, i. e., the expense of production to the individual plus a reasonable profit, is the correct standard of a fair price, this standard can not be reached through competition alone. *The indispensable requisite for securing a fair price is to secure the proper balancing of competition and of unity of action, the former insuring fairness to the consumer, the latter insuring fairness to the producer.* Whatever may be the details of the policy when they are worked out, this is its starting point, and the sooner it is recognized, the sooner may we expect to discover the specific measures necessary to a rational and effective policy.

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Given this as the basic consideration, the next step will be to determine the method by which the desired balance of competition and unity of action can be secured. As shown above, under a condition of perfect fluidity of capital, labor, and business ability, the balancing of these two opposing influences would be automatic. On the one hand, if consumers were called upon to pay too much, the exceptional profits afforded by the high price would attract other producers, and competition would compel a lower price; on the other hand, if producers failed to secure a fair return in any field, such changes among producers would take place as would result in the unity of action necessary to force price up to the point of fairness.

But capital, labor, and business ability are not perfectly fluid. This fact is recognized in the current theory of price, but the method of meeting it involves a serious omission in that theory and a fatal flaw in the policy based upon it. It will be recalled that according to this theory[5] not all capital, all labor, and all business ability need be fluid to secure fair price. The existence of some free capital, some free labor, and some free business ability seeking a field for operation is considered sufficient. But is it? To what extent may fairness be expected from the fluidity of that portion of capital, labor, and business ability not yet employed in industry? Manifestly, the fairness insured by this is fairness to the consumer and to the consumer only. It is the prevention of high prices, i. e., the conservation of the interests of the purchasers alone, that can be expected from this partial fluidity. What, meanwhile, of fairness to the producer?

It is a striking and an important feature of the present industrial policy and of the public opinion back

[5] See above, p. 15.

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of it, that the consumers' interests alone are thought to demand special consideration. It seems to be assumed that the producer can take care of himself. If the matter ever enters the mind, it is probably dismissed with the thought: What need of protection has the modern trust whose resources are to be reckoned in millions? Whereas, the very magnitude of the interests at stake intensify the necessity of adequate means for their safeguarding.

Furthermore, the efforts in behalf of consumers have often led to measures denying to producers the only means by which they can defend themselves, viz., an effective unity of action. In defense of such a policy may be urged the danger of the abuse of the power which unity of action gives, if it is permitted to exist. This danger is a very real one, and herein lies the crux of the problem: How can the interests of the consumers be conserved while allowing to producers the unity of action which is indispensable to them? On the one hand is the trite but true fact that unrestrained freedom to combine is intolerable. But, on the other hand, is the equally true fact which, whether trite or not, can not be too strongly emphasized, that no policy looking to fairness can be expected to succeed which does not provide fairness for the producer as well as for the consumer.

While it is true that perfect fluidity of industrial agencies does not exist and has never existed, this fact has not always been as serious a handicap as now, to the attainment of a fair price through the spontaneous working of business influences. During the early part of the nineteenth century, when the idea was taking shape that competition is adequate to the regulation of general industry, if only it can be allowed free play, the character of business favored the so-called "let alone"

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or self-abnegation policy. Though it was equally true then as now that fair price is the result, not of competition alone, but of competition and unity of action cooperating, the failure to recognize this fact and the consequent glorification of competition was not a serious mater. Among the features of the industry of that time which favored the "let alone" policy were the small size of business units, their varied character, the relatively small part played by capital and especially by fixed capital, and the individual or partnership form of organization.

When industries were small and markets correspondingly limited, competition among producers was not so intense as now. Moreover, there was frequently a personal relation between producer and consumer which conduced to mutual fairness. The impersonal modern corporation was then the exception. Again, the fact that each industry as a rule supplied a variety of products tended to soften the effect of an excessive competition in the case of some articles, as the seller might make up for unduly low profits on them by correspondingly high profits on others. The relatively small part played by capital signified a larger fluidity of business ability. Under such conditions it was easier for one to leave an unprofitable field and betake himself to a profitable one,—a transfer which was rendered easier then than now, too, by the relatively small amount of fixed capital required in industries. In short, business ability and capital,—and for that matter, labor also, which had not yet become intensely specialized,—were highly fluid, and even where fluidity was lacking, conditions existed which tended to prevent unfairness.

The contrast between the character of business at the beginning of the nineteenth century and its present

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character is marked. Large business units, immense aggregations of fixed capital, intense specialization, corporate organization, a world market,—these are the dominant features of modern industry. And every one of these, in one way or another, militates against the spontaneous realization of a healthy adjustment of competition and unity of action through fluidity of the industrial agencies or through the influences that tend to make up for the absence of fluidity. The belief of some that the advantages of big business can be secured to society without allowing them the unity of action necessary to their healthy conduct, is vain. Equally vain is the belief that the public can without serious loss return to the small business unit, or that a policy suited to the small unit stage of production is applicable to the large unit stage.

The sum of it all, then, seems to be clear in principle, however difficult may be the working out of the details.

1. Fair price can be secured only by securing the proper balancing of competition and unity of action. No policy can hope for success which regards competition as natural and beneficial in and for itself and unity of action as abnormal and injurious.

2. Since, under modern industry, the healthy balancing of competition and unity of action can not be attained through the spontaneous working of business interests, there must be legislation, and this legislation must have for its object, not the impossible régime of free competition, but the proper adjustment of both competition and unity of action.

3. Mere general provisions as to acts that are in restraint of trade are not sufficient. The dividing line between acts which in their ultimate effect do and those which do not restrain trade is altogether too indefinite

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to suit the needs of business. The specific evils shown by experience to result from excessive unity of action and from excessive competition should be clearly defined and explicitly forbidden, so that both the general public and those who manage industry may know just what is and what is not contrary to law.

A final word may be added concerning two criticisms that will doubtless be advanced against the program suggested. Some will say that it tends towards socialism. In reply to this, it may be urged, and urged truthfully, that the real promoters of socialism are those who persistently pursue an impossible end in seeking to achieve fairness by the aid of competition alone. They succeed only in prolonging and intensifying existing evils.

Others will claim that the policy as proposed is impossible of realization. To this it must suffice here to say that such a conclusion is not warranted until the policy has been given a fair trial. Moreover, such fair trial can not be had until public opinion ceases to deify "free competition." Nor is such fair trial attainable until it is recognized that there are good as well as bad possibilities both in competition and in that unity of action which, only when excessive, produces the evils of monopoly.

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Studies in Sophocles

By

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University of Cincinnati

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Studies in Sophocles

By
JOSEPH EDWARD HARRY
Professor of Greek

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ELECTRA

AGAMEMNON'S ARCHERY (568–69)

The boast that even Artemis could not surpass him in marksmanship points to the fact that the weapon used in bringing down the quarry was an arrow (*Ἀγαμέμνονα κάλλιον αὐτῆς εἰπόντα βαλεῖν*), though the words of our text do not inform us whether it was in archery the king was showing his skill, or whether a javelin or some other missile was used. The most vulnerable part of a stag is the neck: "Aim just behind the shoulder — for a rhino . . . for other animals aim at the neck . . . the neck shot is the knock-out blow" (Stackpoole, *The Pools of Silence*, p. 74). A rare use of the word *σφαγή* has led many editors to explain *οὗ κατὰ σφαγάς* by *cuius in iugulum*. But Jebb is unquestionably right in his interpretation of the phrase — the preposition means *touching, in the matter of*, as in the expression *παρθένῳ κατὰ τὸ κάλλος διαφερούσῃ* (Polyb. 10.19.3), *τὰ κατὰ Τέλλον* (Hdt. 1.31), whereas in his construction of *ἐκκομπάσας*, of *τυγχάνει*, and in his explanation of *τυγχάνει βαλών*, the great English scholar is, as it seems to me, undoubtedly wrong; and, speaking generally, editors have succeeded in arriving at the truth only in part — one here, another there, but no commentator (explicitly) in all parts of the sentence.

To state my view at the outset, Electra means: "With a boast about the slaughter of which, he shot and hit." We have here precisely the form of sentence we find in Plutarch, *Sertorius* 11 *νεβρὸν λαμβάνει διώξας*. The theory that Sophocles could have intended the first participle to be construed with *τυγχάνει* (*βαλών* swinging off to itself at the end) is untenable;

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for the phrase is here parallel to *ἐτρέψατο βαλών* (Apollod. 2.5.4.3), *κατέπεφνεν βαλών* (4.14.86), *ἔκτεινεν βαλών* (Eur. *Fr.* 495.31), *ἀναιρεῖ βαλών* (Pausan. 2.2.8), *ἐτύχησε βαλών* (Nonnus 29. 42), *δάμασσεν βαλών* (Quint. Smyrn. 10.81), *τοξεύσας ἔτρωσε* (Josephus, *Antiq. Iud.* 9.121). And the Homeric *ἐτύχησε βαλών* (O 581) would certainly be present to the mind of the audience. Cp. E 287, H 243, N 371, Π 623, E 106. According to Libanius (4.73) it was in archery that the king competed with the goddess: *ἐν Αὐλίδι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀμαθίαν εἰς τοξικὴν καταγνοὺς καὶ φήσας οὐδὲν εἶναι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνην ἐν ἀφέσει βελῶν . . . ἔτυχες τοῦ θηρίου . . . Ἀλεξάνδρου τετύχηκας.* An exact parallel to the Sophoclean passage is found in Josephus, *Antiq. Iud.* 5.252 *βαλοῦσα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τυγχάνει.*

ΣΦΑΓΗ

Unquestionably *σφαγή* is occasionally used in the sense of 'iugulum'; but this is not the tragic meaning of the word; and it is not common in any period of the language. As Aristotle defines the term in this technical anatomical sense, *σφαγή* is *κοινὸν μέρος αὐχένος καὶ στήθους* (*H. A.* 1.14.2). Cp. 3. 2. 6 *εἰς τὴν κεφαλήν . . . διὰ τῶν σφαγῶν.* But it is questionable whether *σφαγή* occurs anywhere in poetry in the sense of 'throat'; for Aesch. *Prom.* 863 and Eur. *Or.* 291 are by no means certain instances. The plural *σφαγαί* is never used, either in prose or in poetry, to designate the neck of a single person or animal (except Aristotle, *loc. cit.*).

The word does not appear in Homer, the Hymns, the melic poets, or in Aristophanes; but it occurs frequently in the tragedians: first in Aesch. *Prom.* 863 (where *βάψασα* alone indicates that the meaning is *caedes*, though many editors translate by *iugulum*). The remaining examples in Aeschylus are in the *Oresteia* (*Ag.* 1057, 1096, 1389, 1599, *Eum.* 187, 450). There are six examples in Sophocles — all in the plural except *Ai.* 919 — and not one has the meaning of 'throat.' Euripides has

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more than two score of examples; but there is not a single example of *σφαγαί = iugulum*. In *Or.* 291 *τεκούσης* is an objective genitive (*σφαγάς = mactatio*, in spite of Liddell and Scott and the commentators). In later Greek *βάπτειν ξίφος* was not an unusual combination, and signified merely 'stab.' The verb *βάπτειν*, like its counterpart in Old English (*Iocasta* 3.3 "bathe this blade"), meant 'dyed in blood.' Cp. Libanius 4.72 *κἂν σφάττῃ κάπρον κἂν αἱμάττῃ ξίφος*. In classical Greek, from Homer down, the verb signified 'submerge'; there was always present to the mind the physical image of dipping in some liquid: *ι* 392 *εἰν ὕδατι*, Xen. *An.* 2.2.9 *εἰς ἀσπίδα*, Apollod. 2.5.2.5 *τῇ χολῇ*. Other examples of *σφαγαί* in Euripides are: *Hec.* 522 *σῆς κόρης* (as in *Or.* 291), *Or.* 39 *σφαγαῖς θανοῦσα*, *Phoen.* 1440 *καιρίους*, *Androm.* 399 *Ἕκτορος*, *I. A.* 906; *Rhes.* 606 *καρατόμους*, 636 *μορσίμους*, 990 *παρὰ σφαγαῖς*, *Hel.* 784, *Ion* 377, *Fr.* 781.74. In prose writers the word is extremely rare. Antiphon has one example and this is in the singular (*ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὴν μάχαιραν ἐν τῇ σφαγῇ*). True, *σφαγή* is here supposed to signify *iugulum*; but compare the following examples, where *σφαγή* certainly signifies 'wound': Lucian 2.150 *τί δὲ κατέλιπον τὸ ξίφος ἐν τῇ σφαγῇ*; 157 *ἀποσπάσας δὴ τῆς σφαγῆς καὶ τοῦ τραύματος ἐξελὼν τὸ ξίφος*, Appian, *B. C.* 2.147 *σφαγαὶ τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσιν ὤφθησαν ἀνά τε σῶμα πᾶν καὶ ἀνὰ τὸ πρόσωπον*, 4.18 *χοῖρος ἐσφάγη ὑπὸ τὸν ὦμον σφαγὴν βραχεῖαν*. Appian, like Xenophon, uses the word also in the sense of *mactatio* (4.18, Xen. *An.* 3.15.4). No orator after Antiphon shows a single example, except Isocrates and Demosthenes. In the latter *σφαγή* occurs but twice: 10.10 (repeated in 19.260) and *Prooem.* 42. The examples in the stately orator are: 5.107 (joined with *ταραχάς*), 8.96 (with *στάσεις*), 12.122, 259 and 15.127 (with *φυγάς*), 6.11, 148; 12.99, *Epist.* 9.8. Thucydides, like Antiphon, uses the word but once: 4.48 *οἱστούς . . . ἐς τὰς σφαγὰς καθιέντες*. Here the scholiast explains by 'throat'; and he is followed by all commentators. If this is correct, it

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is the only example in classical Greek, if we except the Aristotelian *σφαγή*. Plato and Xenophon, like Isocrates, use the word regularly in the sense of *caedes: Leg.* 682 D; *Rep.* 610 B; *Epist.* 327 D; Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.6; 4.4.2. So in the later historians: Diodor. Sic. 17.118; 4.54; 19.1; 36.37 and 40; 40.5; Dio Cass. 43.22; 43.24; 61.13; 63.22; 66.25 (*θηρίων*); 67.9; 69.22; 79.19; *B. C.* 39.32; 39.65; 43.22; 43.37; 46.33; 47.5; 47.14; 37.42; 54.10; 54.26; 54.34; 56.27; 58.12; 60.14. Cp. Polyb. 5.16.6; 6.9.9; 23.13.6; 30.14.5. So in other writers of the post-classical period: Polyaenus 8.70, Porphyry, *De Abstin.* 1.7; 2.47; 4.20, Dionys. Hal. *H. R.* 20.16, Athenaeus 626 F, Heliodorus 1.1; 2.5 *χοὰς ἐπάξω τὰς ἐμαυτοῦ σφαγάς*, 2.6; 10.19; 10.36, Libanius 54.19; 59.118, *Declam.* 7.8; 7.18, Lucian 1.31; 1.274; 2.144; 2.147; 2.150; 2.151; 2.153; 2.157; 2.294, Plutarch, *Solon* 20 *ἐπὶ φόνῳ ἢ σφαγαῖσιν*, *De Gen. Soc.* 4, *Mar.* 30; 44, *Lysan.* 15, *J. Caes.* 69, *Cleom.* 10, *Agis* 10, Philostratus, *Ap. Tyan.* 8.27, Phil. Jun. *Imag.* 11.4. The later poets follow the tragic usage: Lycophron 190 *ἐν σφαγαῖς κεμάς | λαιμὸν προθεῖσα*, 440; 466; 810 *σφαγαῖς ἀδελφῆς ἠλοκισμένος δέρην*, Nicetes, *Dro. and Char.* 1.216; Theodorus, *Rhod. and Dos.* (seven examples). So also regularly in Zonaras (14 examples). Cp. Josephus, *Antiq. Iud.* 7.39; 4.290 *τέκνων σφαγή*. Sometimes, however, the word is used in the anatomical sense in later Greek: Lucian 2.158 *ἐπῆγε τὴν σφαγήν*, Plutarch, *Lucul.* 18 *τὴν σφαγὴν παρέσχεν*, *J. Caes.* 16 *ἀπαγαγόντα τοῦ τραχήλου τὸ ἱμάτιον . . . τὴν σφαγὴν παρέσχεν* (cp. 69 *τῷ ξίφει γυμνῷ προσβαλὼν τὸ στέρνον*), *Ant.* 12 (repetition of the phrase in *J. Caes.*), *Brut.* 31 *τὰς σφαγὰς γυμνοῦντα*, Appian, *B.C.* 2.117 *Κάσκας δ' ἐφεστὼς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν τὸ ξίφος ἤρεισε πρῶτος, παρολισθὲν δὲ ἐνέτεμε τὸ στῆθος*, Dio Cass. 69.2 *ἐς τὴν ἀριστερὰν αὐτοῦ σφαγὴν ἐμπεσεῖν* (cp. Demetr. Const. *Orneosophion* 253 *αἰγὸς τὸν γαργαρεῶνα ὃ καὶ σφαγὴ λέγεται*), Josephus 18.31 *γυμνοῦντες τὰς σφαγάς* (cp. Dio Cass. 36.5.7 *τὰς γαστέρας γυμνώσασαι*). But Josephus uses *σφαγή* also in the sense of *caedes* (*De Bello Iud.*

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2.197; 2.473). The last example is followed by *ὅλον εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σφαγὴν ἐβάπτισεν τὸ ξίφος* (476). Cp. 3.390 *παρεῖχεν τὴν σφαγὴν ὡς αὐτίκα τεθνηξομένου*. In Dionys. Hal. *Rom. Antiq.* we find a passage which might be cited in support of the theory that *σφαγή* in *Prom.* 863 and Soph. *El.* 568 signifies *iugulum* (though in my opinion it does not), and, incidentally, as lending color to the theory that *τυγχάνει* in the passage we are discussing means 'hits': *τυγχάνει πως κατὰ τῆς σφαγῆς αὐτοῦ βάψας τὸ ξίφος . . . κατὰ τοῦ μεταφρένου καὶ μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχνων βάψας τὸ ξίφος* (3.458). Cp. 11.2252; 12.4 *τὸ ξίφος βάψαι κατὰ τῆς σφαγῆς*. Galen, like Aristotle, uses *σφαγή* in the sense of *iugulum*. *πρὸς αὐτῇ μὲν σφαγῇ κυρτήν . . . πρὸς τῇ σφαγῇ . . . ἀποχωρεῖν τῆς σφαγῆς*.

But even granting that *σφαγή* occurs occasionally in the sense of 'throat' (hardly outside of the anatomists and physicians, if we except Dion. Hal., and the various descriptions of Caesar's death), there is a strong presumption in favor of the theory that Sophocles employs the word in the usual sense of *mactatio* of the tragic thesaurus. And so the audience would most certainly interpret the word.

So far I agree entirely with Jebb, and differ from Monk, Musgrave, Nauck, and G. Wolff (who take *κατά* in the sense of *bei dem*), and from Bayfield (who translates *κατά* by *in going after*). But in the interpretation of the rest of the sentence I differ widely from Jebb. I am convinced that it would not have occurred to a Greek audience to associate *τυγχάνει* with *ἐκπομπάσας* rather than with *βαλών*. Not only is the rhythm against such a construction (*βαλών* being left oddly isolated at the end), but the ear would naturally, under any circumstances, combine *τυγχάνει* with *βαλών*, even if the phrase were not the common one for expressing the very act here mentioned. Besides, *ἐκπομπάσας* is the subordinate idea (not the other participle) and falls in naturally (both in order and in sense) with *οὗ κατὰ σφαγάς*, as a preliminary to the chief thought of slaying

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the deer. Even from a grammatical point of view it is better to take τυγχάνει (in the sense of 'hits') with the participle which follows rather than with the participle which precedes. Syntactically, the phrase ἐκκομπάσας τυγχάνει may perhaps stand, in spite of the fact that an exact parallel is hardly to be found in Greek literature.

THE PRESENT INDICATIVE OF ΤΤΓΧΑΝΩ WITH THE AORIST PARTICIPLE

There are nearly three thousand examples of τυγχάνω with the participle in the extant literature; yet we may fairly say that τυγχάνει with the aorist was not used; for we can count on the fingers of one hand all the real examples of the construction — only eight in classical, and one in post-classical Greek.

We may discard Eur. *Hipp.* 388 at once, for the poet wrote, not ἐπειδὴ τυγχάνω προγνοῦσ' ἐγώ, but φρονοῦσ' ἐγώ. In Isoc. 4.103 (τυγχάνουσι πράξαντες) the verb is generic; and the example in Dem. 52.9 cannot be counted at all, for the double καί shows that the only participle to be taken with τυγχάνει is ὤν, which is followed by adjectives: ὁ Λύκων τυγχάνει ὢν καὶ ἄπαις καὶ κληρονόμον-οὐδένα-καταλιπών. There was no adjective for the orator to use to correspond to ἄπαις, and he was practically forced to make a temporary compound; if he had lived in a later age he might have said καὶ ἄπαις καὶ ἀκληρονόμητος. In Soph. *Tr.* 370 and Eur. *Phoen.* 49, we find the present of τύγχανω with μαθών. This leaves only three examples: Eur. *Bacch.* 1140 ὅπερ λαβοῦσα τυγχάνει, Soph. *Tr.* 695 τυγχάνω ῥίψασα, Isoc. 14.57 τυγχάνομεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὑπάρξαντες. And there is only one example in later Greek: Dion. Hal. *Rom. Antiq.* 1.50 τυγχάνουσι . . . αὐλισάμενοι (eleven words intervening). Perhaps one more sentence in Dionysius may be counted: 3.458 πολλὰ μὲν τραύματα δοὺς, πολλὰ δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τυγχάνει πως κατὰ τῆς σφαγῆς αὐτοῦ βάψας τὸ ξίφος καὶ διαχρησάμενος, and τυγχάνουσιν . . . ἐνέγκαντες.

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These words are used precisely as Herodotus employs the phrase: *εἰ τοῦ παιδὸς βαλὼν τύχοιμι* (3.55). Luckier than one of the Danaids who attempted a similar feat *ἠυτύχει βαλών* (Eur. *I. T.* 329); Agamemnon does not miss the mark, but (with a vaunt) he brings the quarry down: *μία δὲ αὐτῶν, Ἀμυμώνη, ζητοῦσα ὕδωρ ῥίπτει βέλος ἐπὶ ἔλαφον καὶ κοιμωμένου Σατύρου τυγχάνει* (Apollod. 2.1.4.8). Like the young hunter in Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 2.44, Agamemnon may have hurled a javelin (*ἀκοντίῳ βάλλει καὶ σκοποῦ μὲν ἔτυχε*), or he may have thrown a stone (so far as the evidence in the *Electra* shows): *λίθῳ βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινε* (Apollod. 2.1.3). Heracles brought down his stag with an arrow, and it was because he had killed the sacred animal (not because he boasted of his skill) that he was censured by the gods (2.5.3.2). For the phrase compare 2.8.3.2; 2.7.3.3 *βαλὼν ἐπέτυχε*; 3.15.1.6. Both the context and the idiom show conclusively that Agamemnon 'shot and hit,' and immediately *ἔλαφος βληθεῖσα ἔκειτο* (Aesop. 175). Cp. Xen. *Cyrop.* 1.4.8 *ἀκοντίσας καταβάλλει τὸν ἔλαφον.*

The phrase *τυγχάνει βαλών* is so common that it is hardly possible that the actor in reciting the verse would have divorced the verb from the participle. Not only in classical, but also in the post-classical, literature the combination is exceedingly frequent. The examples in Homer are familiar. In the lyric poets *τυγχάνειν* occurs most frequently in the sense of 'obtain,' though we find *τυγχάνει λωβωμένη* in Sem. Amorg. 7.109, *ἣν τύχῃς κρίνων* in Demod. 6, and *ἡμένη τύχοι* in 7.1.

In Aeschylus the use of *τυγχάνω* in the sense of *nanciscor* is most frequent (30 examples); in the sense of *happen* there are really only two instances (*Cho.* 688 and *Eum.* 726). Sophocles, on the other hand (though he has 33 examples = *nanciscor*), uses the participial construction very often. But *El.* 568 is the only passage in which the poet has occasion to

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employ the verb in the sense of 'hit the mark' (except *Phil.* 223). Aristophanes and the prose writers differ little from the tragic poets. For the usage in prose compare the following: Hdt. 1.43 *τοῦ μὲν ἁμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παιδός*, Thuc. 7.85 *ὅτευ δ' ἂν τύχῃ*, Xen. *Cyr.* 3.27 *παρελαύνοντος Φεραύλα τυγχάνει . . . τίνος ἔτυχε*, Antiphon II. *α* 4 *ἔτυχε τούτου*, III. *β* 7 *τοῦ παιδὸς ἔτυχεν*, V. 4 *οὗπερ ἔτυχεν*, Arist. *Rhet.* 1.5.17 *τοῦ πλησίον ἔτυχε*, Hdt. 3.78 *ὥσέ τε τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ ἔτυχέ κως τοῦ μάγου*, Dio Cass. 34.34 *βάλλει καί πως τυγχάνει αὐτῆς*, Diodor. Sic. 14.23 *τυχὼν τοῦ βασιλέως*, 17.88 *πάντων* (*sc.* *βελῶν*) *ἐπιτυγχανόντων*, 2.19 *τοξεύσας ἔτυχε τοῦ βραχίονος*, 3.25 *ἐπὶ σκοπὸν βάλλειν . . . τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι*, 17.60 *τούτου μὲν ἥμαρτε, τοῦ δὲ παρεστῶτος . . . κατατυχὼν κατέβαλε*, Dio Chrys. 64.336 *σκοποῦ . . . ἔτυχε*, Hediodorus 9.18 *ἀδιαπτώτως ἐτύγχανον*, Arrian, *Cyneget.* 36.1 *τυχεῖν . . . τῆς Μηρίνθου . . . τῆς ὄρνιθος τυχεῖν*, Libanius, *Declam.* 4.384 *ἔτυχον τοῦ σκοποῦ*, 3.284 *βέλει σκοποῦ τυχεῖν*, Lucian, *Hermotimos* 1.768 *ἔτυχε τἀληθοῦς*, 774 *στοχάζονται . . . ἢν τύχωσι . . . ὀρνίθων ἔνιοι τυγχάνουσιν*, Pausan. 8.45.2 *τοξεύει τὸν ὗν καὶ ἔτυχε πρώτη τοῦ θηρίου*, Philostr. Jun. *Imag.* 109, Plutarch, *Crass.* 11, *Artaxer.* 15 *τοῦ δὲ κροτάφου τυχών*, *De Gen. Soc.* 13 *σκοποῦ βάλλοντα καὶ τυχεῖν ἡδὺ καὶ διαμαρτεῖν ἀνιαρόν*, Stob. Vol. VI. p. 39; Nonnus 17.200 *τύχεν Ἰλαίοιο*, 17.209 *τυχὼν λασίοιο μετώπου*, 28.126; 28.162; 37.626; 37.738; 39.313 *ἰστὸν ἔβαλλε . . . ἀκροτάτης ἐτύχησεν . . . ἔβαλλε καὶ οὐκ ἐτύχησε . . . ὄφρα τυχήσῃ*, 43.112; 45.205, Quint. Smyrn. 2.238, Zonaras, *Hist. Epit.* 8.20 *ἔτυχε τοῦ σκοποῦ*.

Jebb objects to the explanation I have proposed on the ground that "the vaunt would naturally follow, not precede, the hit," and cites Schol. on Eur. *Or.* 647 *καυχησάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιτυχίᾳ καὶ εἰπὼν ὡς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὴ ἡ Ἄρτεμις οὕτως ἔβαλεν*, Proclus, *Chrest.* p. 455, and Tzetzes on Lycophr. 183 *τρώσας ἔλαφον μέγα καυχήσας ἐφθέγξατο οὕτως· Οὐδὲ ἡ Ἄρτεμις.*

But how do we know that Electra, in her casual reference to the boast, is so accurate in her statement of the sequence; or

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that she even knows whether the vaunt was before or after the actual discharge of the missile? In any event, the two acts must have been well-nigh simultaneous; and it is conceivable that the boast preceded, or accompanied, the arrow's flight. The fact is, Electra, as she mentions this incidental circumstance, is not thinking much about the sequence of the acts; she is merely narrating the story loosely, of her father's shooting and boasting. Jebb himself would probably have construed τυγχάνει with βαλών (if we may judge from the tenor of his note), if he had not held Electra too strictly to account for the accuracy of her statement. And I am inclined to think that ἔπος τι is not used chiefly for euphemism, but to indicate the fact that Electra has only a vague idea (ὡς ἐγὼ κλύω) about the whole occurrence.

In re-reading the later literature for this (and other) articles I was curious to see whether any forms of the perfect subjunctive had escaped my observation in my first reading many years ago. I was glad to discover that I had collected, apparently, all the examples. A few months ago I received a letter from a European scholar making inquiry on this subject: "j'ai appris que vous aviez vous-même publié une importante étude sur 'The perfect forms in later Greek.'" In acknowledging the receipt of the article, he takes occasion to say: "j'ai lu votre brochure avec grand interêt et profit. Peut-être sera-t-il intéressant pour vous de connaître quelques formes que je n'y vois pas mentionnées et que j'ai rencontrées dans Hippocrate: κατεήγῃ (5 fois), δεδοίκωσι, ἐκπεπτώκῃ (8 fois), ἐρρώγῃ, πεφύκῃ, τετυχήκῃς." Now, I had myself collected all the examples of the perfect subjunctive in Hippocrates (whom I had for special reasons excluded from the list in my paper on the perfect subjunctive in classical Greek), and I refer to him here solely because τυγχάνω occurs in the perfect tense of the subjunctive mood in this author alone. The only example of τετυχήκω in either classical or post-classical Greek appears in the second person: τετυχήκῃς

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(*De Fract.* 5, Litt. 434). The other examples of the perfect cited above are presents.

The physician has to do with symptoms and conditions. Perfects are adjectives with the verb *εἶναι*, and participles are adjectives alone: *ῥὶς ὀξεῖα, ὀφθαλμοὶ κοῖλοι, κρόταφοι συμπεπτωκότες, ὦτα ψυχρὰ καὶ συνεσταλμένα καὶ οἱ λοβοὶ τῶν ὤτων ἀπεστραμμένοι καὶ τὸ δέρμα . . . σκληρὸν καὶ περιτεταμένον καὶ καρφαλέον ἐόν* (Hipp. *Prognost.* 2). Hence it is not strange that a writer who is obliged to represent the present condition of a past action so often, to say *ἐκπέπτωκε* and *ὠλίσθηκε* constantly, should now and then find occasion to say, in his treatment of the subject of dislocations, *ἐφ' ὁπότερ' ἂν ἐκπεπτώκῃ* (3), *οἷς ἂν ἔσω ἐκπεπτώκῃ* (51), *οἷς ἂν ἐς τὸ ἔσω μέρος ἐκπεπτώκῃ* (55), *ᾧ ἂν ἐς τοὔπισθεν ἐκπεπτώκῃ* (57), *ὧν ἂν οὕτως ἐκπεπτώκῃ* (59), *οἷσιν ἂν ἄλλως ἐκπεπτώκῃ* (60), or even *ἢν μὴ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου σάρξ μὲν ἐπελήλυθῃ ἐπὶ τὴν κοτύλην* (7)—all of which are in the same treatise.

I had intended to reserve *τετυχηκῃς* for my paper on *φθάνω*, *λανθάνω*, and *τυγχάνω* in later Greek, but the letters from which I have quoted extracts above prompted me to mention the form here. Probably no other author would have used *τετυχήκῃς*. Any other classical writer would have said *κἦν μετρίως τὸ πρῶτον τύχῃς ἐπιδήσας*.

ELECTRA'S WRATHFUL FURY (610–11)

In the *Classical Quarterly* (v. 3) I attempted to show that *μένος πνέουσαν* was a corruption of *μένει συνοῦσαν*, that is, *ὀργῆς καὶ μένους ἐμπλημένη* (Ar. *Vesp.* 424). I add here a few more facts in support of the emendation, and discuss the scene more fully.

Clytemnestra takes up *φροντίδα* and exclaims: *πόθεν δ' ἐμοὶ δεῖ πρός γε τήνδε φροντίδα;* She is not answering a criticism; her remark refers particularly to Electra's final declaration; and this *καταισχύνω* is an echo of her mother's *αἰσχύνειν* (518),

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κακοστομοῦμεν (596), ἀναιδείας (607). Electra mockingly turns the edge of her mother's weapon on herself. Now the chorus, observing Electra's wrathful fury, reprove her very much in the same fashion as Antigone is reproved (471): 'the daughter is not speaking σὺν δίκῃ, σὺν αἰσχύνῃ.' Such is also the declaration of Clytemnestra in her next statement (αἰσχύνης ἄτερ, 615). Electra understands the reproach, and defends herself by maintaining that she has αἰσχύνη, despite her mother's belief, and that she realizes she is doing what she should not; but her mother's shameful deeds *force* her to act thus, whereupon Clytemnestra bursts forth with ὦ θρέμμ' ἀναιδές. Consequently, σὺν δίκῃ means simply ἀδίκως, ἀναισχύντως.

Schneidewin's and Wecklein's interpretation (πνέουσαν, *sc.* Clytemnestra), and Kaibel's and Bayfield's (ξύνεστι, *sc.* Cly.) are impossible. Both the context and the inclusive ὁρῶ — εἰσορῶ show that the chorus is thinking of Electra alone. Jebb, who recognizes σὺν δίκῃ ξύνεστι as an unusual pleonasm, would probably never have thought of his explanation, if the phrase σὺν δίκῃ (= δικαίως here, as in Theogn. 197 σὺν δίκῃ καὶ καθαρῶς) had not unfortunately come immediately before ξύνεστι.

The simple phrase σὺν θεῷ is as old as Homer; but in Aesch. *Cho.* 148 Electra combines σὺν θεοῖσι καὶ γῇ καὶ δίκῃ. But the usual form of the adverbial phrase in the *sermo familiaris* was ἐν δίκῃ (Ar. *Eq.* 258, *Nub.* 1332). This was also used in tragedy (Soph. *Fr.* 673), as well as simple δίκῃ (Eur. *Fr.* 834); but frequently also σὺν δίκῃ (Aesch. *Eum.* 610, Pind. *P.* 9.170). But Hermann's interpretation is fully as objectionable as Jebb's. If we read the lines aloud, we must feel that ὁρῶ μένος πνέουσαν followed by εἰ δὲ σὺν δίκῃ ξύνεστι (in the sense ἐκείνη μένει ξύνεστι) is harsh, whereas if we read ὁρῶ μένει συνοῦσαν, the rest of the verses is perfectly smooth and harmonious. And this is precisely the kind of a statement we should expect from the traditional chorus, which is certainly not ascribing to the maiden Electra such qualities as belong to the μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοί,

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or to the Μαραθωναμάχαι, whom Aeschylus describes so vividly as πνέοντες δόρυ (Ar. *Ran.* 1016). Indeed, Electra had begun very temperately, but near the end she had suddenly become angry (hence οὐκέτι in 611), but surely the chorus would not represent her as a Fury πνέουσαν μένος ἅπαντά τε κότον (*Eum.* 840). Cp. Eur. *Alc.* 493 πῦρ πνέουσι μυκτήρων ἄπο, Soph. *Ant.* 1147, 960 μανίας μένος. Unquestionably Sophocles uses μένος here in the sense of *iracundia, furor* (not 'impetus,' 'pugnae cupiditas'); and Electra is μένει συνοῦσα, as Ajax was μανίᾳ συνών; and as συνεῖναι is συζῆν (= χρῆσθαι), μένει συνοῦσαν is equivalent to ὀργῇ χρωμένην (*O. T.* 1241).

It is worthy of note that the Greeks used ὁρῶ so often where our blunt English would content itself with a bald statement of the fact. If Electra were speaking, she would say ὁρᾶτέ με συνοῦσαν. So Antigone: ὁρᾶτ' ἔμ' . . . στείχουσαν . . . λεύσσουσαν . . . κοὔποτ' αὖθις (= στείχω . . . λεύσσω κτέ.). Scholars generally concede now, I believe, that ὁρᾶτε in Aesch. *Prom.* 119 is indicative. Wecklein is an exception. He dismisses my explanation with a curt reference to ἐσίδεσθ' in 141 (the very passage I cited in support of the other view — the *aorist* is used both here and in 91, and in both passages the circumstances are different from 119); but he fails to call attention to the far more pertinent passage in which the sufferer reveals his identity to a later sympathizing visitor: πυρὸς βροτοῖς δοτῆρ' ὁρᾷς Προμηθέα (612). Cp. 69 ὁρᾷς θέαμα δυσθέατον, 1093 ἐσορᾷς μ' ὡς ἔκδικα πάσχω (which would probably have been considered an imperative, if the plural had been used). The Greeks did not use ὁρᾶτε for ἴδετε, ἴδεσθε; moreover, they avoided ambiguity. An occasion to employ the *present* seldom presented itself. From my collection of over a hundred examples I cite the following: Soph. *O. T.* 15, *Ant.* 712, *Phil.* 159, Eur. *Fr.* 233 ὁρᾷς γὰρ πατέρα σὸν τιμώμενον, 301, 420 ὁρᾷς τυράννους διὰ μακρῶν ηὐξημένους, 941, 1052, adesp. 493 ὁρᾷς Δίκην, 76 ὁρᾶτε, 794, 1131, Ar. *Eccl.* 412 ὁρᾶτέ με δεόμενον σωτηρίας.

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EMENDATIONS

Verse 21

In *ξυνάπτετον λόγοισιν ὡς ἐνταῦθ' ἐμέν* Sophocles wrote, not *ὡς*, but *οὓς*. The paedagogus is saying that he must give ear to words, and by this he means the words of Orestes, that is, the plan of campaign which the latter is about to unfold; and Orestes, with direct reference to *ξυναπτέον λόγοισιν οὓς*, bids the old man give sharp attention and listen closely to his words (30). The paedagogus has already consumed not a little of their precious time in pointing out to his former charge all the famous places Orestes had yearned so long to see. But he must not do all the talking. He must also listen to what Orestes has to say, for *ἐν τάχει βουλευτέον* (16). Cp. 1335–38 and 1368, Anth. P. 7. 562 *τανύειν ὦτα λόγοις*.

More than one hundred interpolations have been assumed by scholars to have been made in the *Electra* alone. But with this correction of *ὡς* to *οὓς* all scruples as to the genuineness of the text must disappear. All the manuscripts give *ξυνάπτετον*, except E, which reads *ξυναπτέον*. This change was natural, for the paedagogus had just addressed both Orestes and Pylades (15).

The particle *μέν* at the end of the verse falls into its place as an integral and necessary part of the sentence — whatever one might think should be done under other circumstances, *here* at least *ξυναπτέον λόγοισιν οὓς*. This little word *ἐμέν* is responsible for more than a score of emendations.

Verse 1458

In the transmission of the text through a period of two thousand years it is not strange that *κἀνὰ δ' οἰγνύναι* should coalesce to form *κἀναδεικνύναι*, but it is strange that nobody has thought of the correction which lies on the surface. The common expression for 'open the gates' was *ἀνοιγνύναι τὰς πύλας*.

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Sophocles has altered this in the smallest degree (from *πύλας δε κἀνοιγνύναι*) *metri gratia* and at the same time to elevate it from ordinary prose to the sphere of poetic diction.

Sophocles is very fond of tmesis, particularly with *δέ* (*El.* 713, *Ant.* 420, 427, 746, 1233, *Tr.* 925, *O. T.* 27, 432, 977, 1274. And, as we shall see in 1468, Aegisthus is fond of separating *ἀνά* from its belongings by inserting some particle or adverb.

Verses 1466–1468

The explanations of the commentators are all impossible, for *φάσμα* means 'spectre,' not 'spectacle.' In the post-classical period both *φάσμα* and *φάντασμα* are used. So in the tragic poets (Eur. *Hec.* 54 *φάντασμα*, 703 *φάσμα*). In Sophocles *φάσμα* appears five times, three in the *Electra* (501, 644, 1466), and all refer directly to Orestes. Neither word occurs in Homer, who does say, however, *τέρας φαίνειν* (B 324). Cp. Aesch. *Ag.* 143 *φάσματα φαίνων*. In every instance *φάσμα* is a spectre, or a prodigy. It is always something supernatural, something which partakes of the nature of a *τέρας*. Electra has been so strangely wrought upon by the sudden appearance of Orestes alive, when but a moment ago she had thought him quietly inurned, that if her father should now come back alive, she would not consider it a *τέρας* (1316). A *φάσμα* is a dead corpse that revisits the glimpses of the moon (*ἐς φάος μολών*, Aesch. *Cho.* 459). The Greeks believed that the spirits of the dead may walk again, that they come like shadows, so depart. A *φάσμα* is *ὃ φαίνεται* — it is the business of a *φάσμα* to *φαίνεσθαι*. When the chorus call up Darius, they say: *φάνηθι* (*Pers.* 674). The phantom of Polydorus says: *φανήσομαι ἐν κλυδωνίῳ* (Eur. *Hec.* 47). Hence a *φάσμα* is an apparition — "thy mother | Appear'd to me last night; for ne'er was dream | So like a waking" (*Winter's Tale* 3.3). So Clytemnestra (644). Chrysothemis reports that her mother had dreamed Agamemnon had returned (419). This *ὄψις* (413) has so preyed upon

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her mind that she sends Chrysothemis with funeral libations for Agamemnon's shade (406). Cp. Aesch. *Cho.* 523–25. For many years the ungodly woman and her spouse have been living in constant dread of the one spectre they had cause to fear —Orestes. He had often sent dire threats (779). He is likely to put in appearance at any time (*ἥξοντος, ἢ μέλλοντος*, 318). Clytemnestra cannot close her eyes in sleep night or day. Not until she hears the welcome news that her son is dead does she feel that she can pass her days in peace (786). The first question Aegisthus asks is: *ἦ καὶ θανόντ' ἤγγειλαν ὡς ἐτητύμως;* (1452). Both have been startled anew by the dream — "the ghost of Caesar hath appear'd to me. . . . I know my hour is come." Agamemnon had come back from the spirit world: he took the sceptre now borne by Aegisthus, planted it at the hearth, and forthwith — *ἄνω βλαστεῖν βρύοντα θαλλόν.* This fruitful bough could have but one meaning — Orestes returned to Argos. The guilty pair are thus wrought up to the highest pitch of nervous tension; for they have been for many months eating their meals in fear and sleeping "in the affliction of those terrible dreams that shake them nightly." And now, when this ghost of Banquo that will not down bursts upon the usurper's startled vision, Aegisthus, with ill-concealed joy and relief, exclaims: *ὦ Ζεῦ, δέδορκα φάσμ' ἀν' εὖ φανούμενον | πεπτωκός.* The ghost is laid at last, never to rise again.

Not only does *ἀναφανούμενον* express the thought required (*φανουμένου* corresponding to *φάσμα*, and *ἀνά* being contrasted with *πεπτωκός*), but it is also the proper word to indicate the *up*rising of a *φάσμα νερτέρων.* The commonest use of this verb is to designate the *up*rising, or reappearance of something from below. Cp. Hdt. 2.15; 6.76; 7.30; 7.198; Lys. 14.11, Ar. *Vesp.* 124, Thuc. 4.36.2, Dem. 42.5, Aesch. *Cho.* 327 *ὀτοτύζεται δ' ὁ θνήσκων, ἀναφαίνεται δ' ὁ βλάπτων.*

The participle *πεπτωκός* refers to the actual 'fallen' state of Orestes — "I tell you yet again, Banquo's buried; he cannot

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come out on 's grave." Aegisthus has been "cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd and bound into saucy doubts and fears." The phantom is now πεπτωκός (not πεσόν), and being gone, Aegisthus is a man again; and so, recovering himself, he adds with hypocritical piety, "but whether Retribution brought about that fall, I do not undertake to say." When he lifts the covering and beholds the corpse, all further doubts (whether νέμεσις ἔπεστι) are resolved, for αὐτὴν μετῆλθε νέμεσις (Ael. *V. H.* 6.10), ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ (Hdt. 1.34). Cp. Soph. *Phil.* 518, 601, Isaeus 42.34, Plato, *Leg.* 943 D.

It seems to me clear that Electra's ποθῶν δ' οὐκ ἀξιοῖ φανῆναι (172) and πολλάκις φήμας . . . προὔπεμπες ὡς φανούμενος (1155) have direct bearing on the φανούμενος in our passage. Orestes was certainly expected to appear. But the *spectre* long expected would be properly designated as ἀναφανούμενος, and, as foreshadowed by Clytemnestra's dream, ἀν' εὖ φανούμενος. Cp. 1102 εὖ θ' ἱκάνεις, *Tr.* 228 εὖ μὲν ἵγμεθ' ('happy in our return'), Aesch. *Suppl.* 219 εὖ τε δέξασθαι χθονί.

This ἀν' εὖ coalesced into ἄνευ, the following φανου became φονου perforce, and the wedded μεν — ον, being thus rudely dislodged from their belongings, proceeded forthwith to do the only thing left for the pair to do — get a divorce (when ἀν' εὖ were united) and be content to live on as separate individuals in blest retirement from each other in the guise of μὲν οὐ.

Since these new words made apparent sense, they were suffered to survive ensconced in their comfortable corner. But the dislocation gave a severe wrench to a passage just below; for these two sets of verses hang together (1466–68 and 1477–78), and the latter pair cannot be understood without reference to the former.

When Aegisthus says πέπτωχ' ὁ τλήμων, he inadvertently uses the very word he had just applied to Orestes, and the latter immediately retorts: οὐ γὰρ αἰσθάνῃ πάλαι | ζῶν θανοῦσιν οὕνεκ' ἀνταυδᾷς ἴσα; And Aegisthus responds ξυνῆκα τοὔπος.

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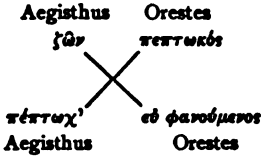
The verb *ἀνταυδᾶν* occurs nowhere else in Greek literature. It means here 'to speak perversely.' A moment ago it was Orestes *πεπτωκώς*, now it is Aegisthus. There is a reversal, a *περιπέτεια*, and the *living* is applying the same epithet (*ἴσα*) to himself that he had applied to the (supposed) dead. The signification of the preposition in the compound might be represented by a kind of chiasmus:—



The MSS. *ζῶν τοῖς* is thus preferred to the emendation made by Tyrwhitt (*ζῶντας*), approved by Musgrave, and placed in the text by Brunck and by Jebb.

A full discussion of these three passages will be published elsewhere.

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ANTIGONE

ISMENE'S BURIAL OF POLYNEICES

Ismene says δέδρακα τοὔργον (536) — and we may take her at her word, even though she adds εἴπερ ἦδ' ὁμορροθεῖ. Her chief desire has been to keep the burial a secret; but now she is willing to share the burden of the charge and the fate of Antigone, when she sees that her sister's doom is inevitable.

Just one year ago I made an acting version of the play for a special performance at the Grand Opera House, Cincinnati. A few minutes after the curtain fell, I was introducing an American Hellenist to the young woman who had taken the part of Ismene. His first observation was, "You succeeded in making Ismene a positive character, whereas we have been wont to regard her as negative." In this remark there is food for thought. Were there not many subtle devices at the disposal of the actor, and through him of the poet, whereby the audience could detect facts which totally escape us moderns, who are left to a bare inspection of the cold text? It is possible that we have foisted on Sophocles and Euripides just as many absurdities as archaeologists and commentators, who have not participated in athletic sports themselves, have foisted on Myron and Homer and their successors. As Gardiner truly says (*Greek Athletic Sports*, p. 16), "There is no subject wherein commentators are so rampant as in athletics, and there is no athletic absurdity which they do not father upon the Greeks."

Now the incongruity in the *Antigone* (in the matter of the two burials) must have been felt by every careful reader of the play; but it was left to Dr. Rouse (*C. R.* XXV. 2) to point out

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that the burial rites in one of these instances may have been performed by Ismene. His arguments seemed to me cogent. Only one doubt arose in my mind: "If this is so, why did Sophocles not give us some hint of the true situation?" Possibly he did — after the manner I have suggested — exits, entrances, steps, gestures, intonations of words. As an example of the last let us examine verse 556. Ismene says ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἀρρήτοις γε τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις. Scholars almost universally consider this to refer to καθανεῖν in the preceding verse. But with the proper intonation of voice and gesture it could refer to ζῆν, or to something which the speaker still desired to say. The verse did not have this meaning for Creon, for Antigone, but it could have this meaning for the audience, and, what is more important, this is the natural meaning of the words, which are interpreted otherwise by Creon and Antigone simply because they are not in a position to understand them. The audience has been let into the secret by this time and they know that Ismene is merely making a declaration (*sotto voce*, as it were) that she did the deed, and consequently is not justly censured by her sister as having preferred to live; she committed the pious act of impiety, and therefore could not be held to account for her apparent disregard of the dead — "I did refuse to say openly that I would bury Polyneices, and on that score you may say that I chose to live" — 'but not on the basis of those words of mine which remained unspoken.' These words the audience had divined; Antigone had not; what she understands her sister to say is, "But you did not make that choice without my protest" (an "I told you so" that does not harmonize with Ismene's bearing throughout this scene); but the deeper meaning, known only to herself and to the audience, is: "If you could take into consideration the words which were kept locked within my bosom, you would not say εἵλου ζῆν." Ismene declares that she is willing to be considered *particeps criminis* (which she is *de facto*); she pleads with Antigone (544) to

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allow her to share her sister's death (which does not argue a cowardly Ismene), *τὸν θανόντα θ' ἁγνίσαι* (have her act recognized); and, finally (and emphatically), *καὶ μὴν ἴση νῷν ἐστιν ἡ 'ξαμαρτία* (which takes on a truly Sophoclean deeper meaning, if Ismene is not merely sympathizing with the act now, hence equally culpable, morally, with Antigone). All this undercurrent of thought is, of course, entirely lost on her sister and on Creon; but the import of each utterance is clear to the audience. In this whole scene, as in the first stichomythy of the *Hippolytus*, "wo jedes Wort berechnet und für das ganze bedeutsam ist," misinterpretation is more likely to find a place than in any other part of the play, especially in the mind of a modern commentator. Ismene's regard for the dead is not less, but for a living Antigone more (82 *ὡς ὑπερδέδοικά σου*, 85 *κρυφῇ δὲ κεῖθε*). And how do we know that she did not, when Antigone left the stage after their first interview (and entered the palace to procure the shapely hammered jug of bronze?)—not out of contrition, perhaps, for her first refusal to share in the consecration (*ξυμπονήσεις καὶ ξυνεργάσῃ*;), but out of love for that sister who had called on her to aid her hand in lifting the dead, and in the hope of saving her from a dreadful doom—how do we know, I say, that Ismene did not go straight to the field, where Polyneices' body lay, and perform the act which the watchman describes as having been done as by one in haste (*λεπτὴ δ' ἄγος φεύγοντος ὡς ἐπῆν κόνις*)? Such burial rites (in which the corpse was merely lightly strewn with dust) were more likely to be the work of one who wished to keep the act securely hid, that the agent might not be discovered; that is, the work of the erstwhile shrinking Ismene than of the fearless Antigone. And it was easy for Ismene to escape observation when she "did the deed" (since the watchman would at that time be more careless, and, possibly, had taken a position even more remote, to windward by a hilltop that the odor from the corpse might not reach him), whereas, afterwards, when Creon's

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dire threats were weighing heavily on all the sentinels, and they were urging one another to vigilance, with frequent interchange of threats, if one should shirk his duty, it was practically impossible for the culprit to come upon the scene unobserved. So when Antigone appears (long afterwards, Sophocles is careful to inform us), the poet feels himself obliged to represent the sky as being all in confusion with a whirlwind which raised a cloud of dust that filled the plain, — in order to get Antigone to the corpse without being seen, and thus be caught in the act. Sophocles portrays Ismene as the more feminine, to bring out in stronger contrast the heroic fortitude of soul of Antigone; but this does not preclude the possibility of his conceiving Ismene, in her devotion to her sister, as capable of showing, at the last moment, almost equally heroic bravery and self-sacrifice. As Dr. Rouse truly says, "those who seem weakest often can be heroic for one beloved; what many a woman has done for her child, Ismene may do for her sister, in a sort of frenzy of devotion." Furthermore, the first act could not have been performed by Antigone, since she would have been descried by the watchman. Sentinels had already been posted (217), and Antigone would not have tried to evade them.

We have one more hint, before the final scene between the sisters, that Ismene had done something more than merely to protest against Antigone's rashness; for Creon declares he had just seen her *λυσσῶσαν οὐδ' ἐπήβολον φρενῶν.* The reaction had set in; and now at the last, when, in her deep affection, she asks in anguish *τί δῆτ' ἂν ἀλλὰ νῦν σ' ἔτ' ὠφελοῖμ' ἐγώ;* (532), and Antigone waves her aside with *σὺ μὲν γὰρ εἶλου ζῆν, ἐγὼ δὲ κατθανεῖν,* Ismene's heart is at the bursting point, and she exclaims, "But not before I tell you all" — and Antigone, not understanding her, turns aside, sealing her sister's lips with *καλῶς σὺ μὲν τοῖς, τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ 'δόκουν φρονεῖν.* Whichever way Ismene's utterance here is taken, the main thought is the same,

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and this thought is not that she had forewarned Antigone of the dreadful consequences, or protested against the course she had determined to pursue, as verse 556 is usually interpreted.

Furthermore, why should Sophocles portray an Ismene so entirely different from the Ismene of the *Oedipus at Colonus*? In the latter play there is no such strong contrast between the sisters. Ismene shows the same devotion to her sister there as in the *Antigone;* and she exhibits the same filial piety toward her father as Antigone herself. True, she had had the ordinary comforts of life, while she remained in Thebes; but "they also serve who only stand and wait"; and Ismene was loyally waiting and watching at her home in the interest of her father. If the earlier play had never been written by Sophocles, it is questionable whether Ismene would not have been regarded in later ages as almost equally faithful and noble as Antigone herself. The blind old man could not go forth alone; and it was Antigone's task to accompany him, Ismene's to guard her father's interests in Thebes. In proof of her filial love and piety, of her steadfast loyalty, and of her willingness to hazard much for those she loved, we may cite the secret journey to inform her father of the oracles which the Thebans had received. She is not so heroic as Antigone; but she is not selfish. Her grief is genuine, and her first words on appearing at Colonus indicate how truly loving and loyal she was to those who had preceded her to Athens: *ὦ δισσὰ πατρὸς καὶ κασιγνήτης ἐμοὶ | ἤδιστα προσφωνήματα.* It was no easy task to find the wanderers, and now that she has succeeded, she can hardly see them for her tears. She had risked the secret journey; she has reached her destination, but *οὐκ ἄνευ μόχθου* (328); and she has come *σῇ, πάτερ, προμηθίᾳ* (332), in spite of the *παθήμαθ' ἅπαθον* (361). Ever ready to act in her father's behalf, it is she that proffers aid in 503: *τοῖς τεκοῦσι γὰρ | οὐδ' εἰ πονεῖ τις, δεῖ πόνου μνήμην ἔχειν.* And at the very end she is willing to die with Oedipus, as she is willing in the *Antigone* to die with her sister: *κατά με*

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φόνιος Ἅιδας ἔλοι | πατρὶ ξυνθανεῖν γεραιῷ | τάλαιναν· ὡς ἔμοιγ' ὁ μέλλων βίος οὐ βιωτός.

ANTIGONE 778

τὸ μὴ θανεῖν. If αἰτουμένη had not preceded, the genitive would have been used. There is not a single example of τυγχάνειν with the accusative either in classical or in post-classical Greek. In Aesch. *Cho.* 711 τὰ πρόσφορα and in *Fr.* 824 τὰ καὶ τά are inner objects. Wherever the real accusative (outer object) *apparently* occurs, some verb which requires an accusative is regularly associated with τυγχάνειν (mostly αἰτεῖν). Cp. *O. C.* 1106 αἰτεῖς ἃ τεύξῃ (= ἃ αἰτεῖς τεύξῃ), Hdt. 5.23 τὴν παρὰ Δαρείου αἰτήσας ἔτυχε . . . δωρεάν, 9.109 πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν. There are more than one thousand examples of τυγχάνειν with the genitive in the post-classical literature, none with the accusative, though many other curious constructions of this verb appear.

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AJAX

AJAX FURENS (*Ai.* 137–147)

I

If the text is sound, *ἱπποµανῆ* means simply *µεγαλοµανῆ*, as one scholiast asserts, in spite of the fact that of the many interpretations this is not one of the three generally accepted by scholars. Ever since man *ἔζευξεν ἐν ζυγοῖσι κνώδαλα*, the horse has been his constant companion, the animal with which he would most naturally compare his own size and strength. In Greek, as in English, 'horse' is used as a prefix to words to denote strength, bigness, clumsiness, or coarseness: horse-chestnut, horse-play, horse-nettle, horse-mussel, horse-mushroom, horse-plantain, horse-fiddle, horse-pie. Mark Twain calls shuffleboard 'horse-billiards.' Cp. the German Pferdekur, Rosskastanie, wirkliche Pferdearbeit. A horse-radish exceeds an ordinary radish in pungency, as the *ἱπποµανία* of Ajax exceeds an ordinary frenzy in intensity. Lucian calls excessive pride *ἱπποτυφία* (*Hist. Conscr.* 45). The words of Aeschylus are *ἱπποβάµονα* (moving like horses, *ἱπποβάµοσι καµήλοις*, *Suppl.* 284): quadrupedante putrem cursu quatit ungula campum; they are not *ἁρροβάται* (*Pers.* 1072), but produce the effect of cavalry marching: "As the sonorous nouns, flanked by their polysyllabic epithets, advance, the earth is seen to shake as though battalions were hurrying to the charge" (Symonds). They are also *ἱππόκρηµνα*, 'horse-beetling.' Aristotle speaks of a *ἱππoµύρµηξ* (*H. A.* 8.28.3). A large kind of sorrel was called *ἱππολάπαθον*. Our 'horse-mullein' was named *ἱππόφλοµος*. One scholiast on *Ai.* 143 says *τὸ γὰρ ἵππος ἐπὶ µεγάλου τάσσεται ὥσπερ ἱπποσέλινον*, and Pherecrates gives us

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the phrase γελᾶν ἱπποσέλινον (*Pers.* 2). Athenaeus cites a ἱπποπόρνος, and Aristophanes coins ἱππόβινος.

The madness of Ajax may have been, in the minds of the jeering Danai, similar to the ἱπποµανία mentioned by Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 14.17: βοᾷ καὶ ἀκατασχέτως ὁρµᾷ . . . ἐλαύνεται δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν . . . µανίᾳ (after he has become the victim of the plotter who has served him, not the botanical, but the zoölogical ἱπποµανές). In that case τόν would be doubly deictic, and would account in a special way for the spiteful joy, or the horse-laugh of the Danai (πάντων καγχαζόντων, 198).

But is the text sound? Should not the combination ἱππο-µανῆ λειµῶνα make us hesitate? Why should the poet lug in the irrelevant ἱπποµανῆ and represent Ajax as going to the meadow full of horses to kill sheep and oxen? The translations are not only interesting, but also significant. Donner's is so ridiculous, because it is so good, so true to the original: 'In der Rosse Gefild' einstürmend, Das erbeutete Vieh . . . gemordet.' Other translators evade the difficulty. So Schöll says simply:—

"im Waidegefeld
Einbruch Du thatst."

Campbell's rendering is:—

"To the cattle-browsèd mead,
Wild with prancing steed."

But it is practically certain that the text is not sound; for λειµῶν' ἐπιβάντ' is not Greek; and ὀλέσαι is not used of the destruction of animals. If, however, we change λειµῶν' to χειµῶν', not only does the thought become clear, but the adjective, which has given so much trouble, falls into its place as a necessary part of the sentence. The alteration was due to a misunderstanding of the regimen of σέ (which is object, not subject, of the infinitive) and βοτά (which is governed by κτείνοντ', not ὀλέσαι), and this misunderstanding grew out of the unfortunate juxtaposition of ὀλέσαι and Δαναῶν βοτά.

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My arguments for this new interpretation of the vexed passage will be published in full in the *Classical Review*.

II. ΙΠΠΟΜΑΝΗ

Sophocles, I think, wrote *ἱπομανῆ*, which a copyist mistook for the more familiar *ἱππομανῆ*, and this contributed to the change of *χειμῶν' ἐπιβάντ'* (= *ὅταν πληγὴ ἐπιβῇ* in 137). The poet has in mind not the meadow wild with horses, but the storm of frenzy which with crushing force laid low the rugged massive oak, the untamed Ajax, who as Tecmessa declares, as soon as she emerges from the tent, *θολερῷ κεῖται χειμῶνι* (207). So Typho was stricken by the *καταιβάτης κεραυνός* of Zeus, *καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἱπούμενος* (Aesch. *Prom.* 365). The first hint of their lord's condition is given by the mariners in their first utterance, when they speak of the stroke of Zeus, who

> drove the bolted breath
> Through the cloud, to wedge it ponderous
> On the gnarlèd oak beneath.

This hint is amplified and more clearly defined (*ὡς καὶ τῆς νῦν φθιμένης νυκτός*) in the next breath: —

> *σὲ τὸν ἱπομανῆ*
> *χειμῶν' ἐπιβάντ' ὀλέσαι.*

The *ἶπος* (Poll. 7.41) that fell on Ajax was not the crushing weight that held Typho down (Pind. *O.* 4.11), but a *χειμὼν ἐπικαταρραγείς* (Plut. *Mar.* 21), which *μέγα ἴψατο αὐτόν* (A 454), and *ἴψατο*, Hesychius informs us, signifies *κατέβλαψε*. Cp. *θεοβλάβεια* (= *θεοπληξία*), *βλαψίφρων*, *ἔμηνε βλάβη* (Eur. *Ion.* 520). The expression is more vivid than *βαρυμανής* (Eur. *Alc.* 865 *βαρυδαίμονα*); yet the meaning is practically *λυσσομανής* (*ὑπὸ χειμῶνος μανίας ἱπούμενος*, Lat. *ico*). Cp. Josephus, *B. I.* 2. 14.1 *ἐβάρει ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς*, Lys. 28.3 *πιεζόμενοι ταῖς ἐ.*, Ar. *Eq.* 924 *ἱπούμενος ταῖς ἐ.*, App. *Civ.* 5.67 *καταβαρεῖν ἐ.* The storm

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which the chorus has in mind is the Aeschylean *παρακοπὰ φρενοδαλής* (*Eum.* 330) *φρενοπλῆγες μανίαι* (*Prom.* 877). Cp. *σφάκελος* as designating both the spasm of madness and the convulsion of fierce winds, and also the expression *λύσσης πνεύματι μάργῳ* (*Prom.* 883). Io's turbid words fall in confusion against the dark billows of frenzy (883 f.):—

> Mes sens, des desirs emportez,
> Flottoient, confus, de tous costez,
> Comme un vaisseau parmy l'orage.

As Io calls her affliction a *θεόσσυτον χειμῶνα* (cp. *Ai.* 1414 *σούσθω, βάτω*), so Tecmessa designates the insanity of Ajax as a *θολερὸς χειμών*, that is, a *black tempest* which has suddenly rushed down upon his soul: *χειμὼν ἄφνω καὶ γνόφος ἐμπεσών*, *i.e.* *ἐπιβάς* (Lucian, *Char.* 3), *γνόφου καταβάντος* (*Peregr.* 43). Cp. Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 2 *θολερὸν ὄμβρων ἐπιγινομένων*, *Timol.* 27 *θολερὸς ἀήρ*, Hdt. 7.189 *ὁ βορῆς ἐπέπεσε*, Plato, *Protag.* 344 D *χειμὼν ἐπιπεσών*. The verbs *βαίνω* and *πίπτω* are used interchangeably — both in one verse in ε 50: *Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβὰς ἐξ αἰθέρος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ* (cp. *Il.* 14.225 *ἐξ Ἀθόω δ' ἐπὶ πόντον ἐβήσετο*, and Polyb. 3.55.2 *ἐπὶ τὴν ὑποκάτω . . . ἐπιβαίειν*). Heaven's wingèd herald descends from Olympus to Pieria, which he uses as a stepping stone, before he continues his descent to the sea. So the storm comes on Ajax, only not so lightly, but like a great weight, like an *ἶπος*. In *O. T.* 518 the metaphor is not used; hence a different compound is employed (*σὲ προσέβη μανία*). Cp. Lucian, *Piscator* 8 *ὀργὴ Πλάτωνος . . . καθίκοιτο ἄν*. This storm *ἐπιβὰς παρακόπτει φρένας* (Eur. *Hipp.* 238), so that Ajax no longer *ἐντὸς ἑαυτοῦ μένει* (Hdt. 1.119), but *ἐκτὸς ὁμιλεῖ* (*Ai.* 640), *ἐκπλώσας τῶν φρενῶν* (Hdt. 3.154). Cp. *ἀπόπληκτος*, attonitus, sideratus, and for the formation *λυσσομανής*, *αἰνομανής*, *ἡμιμανής*, *πολυμανής*, *οἰστρομανής*, *ζηλομανής*, *ἀκρομανής*. The chorus has in mind the madness of Ajax and not the meadow. Only ten verses later (153) they refer to it

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again: *τοῖς σοῖς ἄχεσιν καθυβρίζων*, which is repeated in 955 in a way which leaves no room for doubt: *γελᾷ δὲ τοῖσδε μαινομένοις ἄχεσιν πολὺν γελωτα.*

Both *λειμῶν' ἐπιβάντ'* and *ὀλέσαι βοτά* are impossible, for *ἐπιβαίνειν* is not used with the accusative in this way, and *ὀλέσαι* is never employed of the slaughter of animals. See my article in the *Classical Review*. The infinitive *ὀλέσαι*, after the transformation of *χειμῶν'* to *λειμῶν'*, was taken with *βοτά*, because there was no other way to construe it; and the juxtaposition of verb and noun made this regimen particularly easy. But verses 137 ff. are merely expanded in 143 ff. into a more definite statement of the facts; and if we adopt any one of the many traditional interpretations, we give only half the story, and that the least significant (the chorus are thinking mainly of their lord's affliction, not of the cattle) — *ὀλέσαι . . . σιδήρῳ* is an amplification of *λόγος ζαμενής*, but *πληγὴ Διός* finds no counterpart anywhere in the text of our manuscripts. As soon, however, as we restore *ἱπομανῆ χειμῶν'*, the gap is filled, and all the requirements satisfied. The chorus are saying that they have heard that Ajax by Frenzy was undone in the night just fled. So Ajax himself says in 440 (*ἀπόλλυμαι*). So Tecmessa reports in 216: *μανίᾳ ἁλοὺς . . . νύκτερος Αἴας ἀπελωβήθη.* So Quintus Smyrnaeus in speaking of this very incident (5.542): *Τριτωνὶς . . . ἐσκέδασεν Μανίην . . . πνείουσαν ὄλεθρον.* Cp. *Ai.* 401 *ἀλλά μ' . . . ὀλέθριον αἰκίζει*, 452 *ἔσφηλεν ἐμβαλοῦσα λυσσώδη νόσον, ὥστε . . . χεῖρας αἱμάξαι βοτοῖς* (= *λυσσώδη χειμῶν' ἐπιβάντ' ὀλέσαι ὥστε κτείνειν*). Both the position of *σε* (cp. 136 and 137) and the general sense favor this construction (*σέ* as the object, not the subject, of *ὀλέσαι*). The undoing of Ajax is the main idea of the sentence, and *βοτὰ κτείνοντ'* follows as a subordinate thought, as an outward manifestation of their lord's condition. The mariners do not know that it was Athena that put the *δυσφόρους γνώμας ἐπ' ὄμμασι*; hence they use the general term 'storm of frenzy,' and they represent this as the agent

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in the destruction of the cattle (*οὔ ποτε γὰρ φρενόθεν γ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά . . . ἔβας*, 183), *κτείνοντ'* agreeing with *χειμῶν'*, instead of *σέ*, or in a general way with both. The participle is equivalent to *ὥστε κτείνειν*, just as *πίτνων* in 185 is used for *ὥστε πίτνειν*. Thus the text remains almost intact. And the use of *ὑπομανῆ* is certainly after the manner of Sophocles, who so often, to the confusion of scholiasts and editors, employs unusual words. The *τὸν ὑπομανῆ χειμῶνα* is a repetition of *πληγὴ Διός* in thought, while *ἐπιβῇ* is represented by *ἐπιβάντα*. The conjunction *ὡς* shows that *σὲ . . . ὀλέσαι* is a direct explanation of the clause in verse 138, the meaning of this general statement being unfolded in the specific instance.

SOME NOTES ON THE AJAX

Verse 7

ἐκφέρει. The verb here means *guides to the goal*, and refers to the tracks of blood which Odysseus follows like a keen-scented Spartan hound. So Theseus in Shakspere's *Midsummer Night's Dream*: "My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind. . . . A cry more tuneable | Was never holla'd to . . . In Crete, in Sparta, nor in Thessaly." Cp. Plato, *Parmen.* 128 C *ὥσπερ γε αἱ Λάκαιναι σκύλακες εὖ μεταθεῖς τε καὶ ἰχνεύεις*. But *ἐκφέρειν* in *Phaedo* 66 B (which is regularly cited as a parallel to the Sophoclean passage) has no such connotation. See my article in *Class. Rev.* XXIII. 7, and add to the examples cited there the following: Lucian 2.107 *ἀποτραπόμενοι τῆς ὁδοῦ*, 3.9 *ὁδεύσειας . . . εἰ δὲ κἂν μικρόν τι παραβαίης ἢ ἔξω πατήσειας . . . ἐκπεσεῖσθαί σε τῆς ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ*, 3.28 *ἐκστήσομαι τῆς ὁδοῦ*, 1.278 *εἰ βραχύ τις ἐκβαίη τῆς ὁδοῦ . . . τοῦτον ἐξήνεγκαν . . . ἐξετράποντο τῆς ὁδοῦ*, Philostratus 8.13 *τῆς ὁδοῦ . . . ἀπάγειν*, *Ap. Tyan.* 10 *ἐν ἐκβολῇ τῆς ὁδοῦ . . . ἐκτρέπεσθαί ποι παρὰ τὸ εὐθύ*, Plutarch, *De Genio Soc.* *ἐκνεύσας τῆς ὁδοῦ*, *Cato* *ἐξέπεσε τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ πλανώμενος . . . ἕως ἐμβαλόντες εἰς ἀτραπόν*, *Crassus* 28 *ἐκπεσούσης τῆς ὁδοῦ*, *Aemil. Paul.* 16 *ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ*,

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Erot. Gr. Manass. 4.43 *παραπλάζει τῆς ὁδοῦ*, Athenaeus 582 C; Arrian 4.5.3; Iamblichus *Protrept.* 245 *τὰς λεωφόρους ὁδοὺς ἐκκλίνων διὰ τῶν ἀτραπῶν βάδιζε*, Manetho 4.531 *μίαν εἰς ἀτραπὸν βιότου δρόμον ἐκνεύοντες . . . ζωὴν εὔτρεπτον ἔχοντες*, Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.19 *ἐκβληθέντων ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ*, Aelian, *De Nat. An.* 1.31 *τὴν αὐτὴν χωροῦσιν ἀτραπόν . . . ἀφίστανται τῆς ὁδοῦ*, Josephus 13.290 *ἁμαρτάνοντα καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δικαίας ἐκτρεπόμενον εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπαναγαγεῖν.*

Verse 15

ἄποπτος. So the ghosts of Banquo and of the king are visible to Macbeth and to Hamlet, invisible to the others.

Verse 59

μανιάσιν νόσοις. "The disease in Greek is called *μανία*, in Latin *insania, furor*" (Ben Jonson, *The Silent Woman* 4.2). The phrase means 'in his frenzied throes'—"not sick, my lord, unless it be in mind" (*Merchant of Venice* 3.2). The adjective indicates the nature of the disease. In 338 the poet uses *νόσημα*, which is not so common as *νόσος*, but hardly to be distinguished from it; but the latter is the usual word for the metaphorical signification.

Verse 186

ἥκοι ἄν. The optative of *ἥκω* with *ἄν* occurs in only one passage in later Greek, and there are only three examples in classical Greek. In Plotinus 6.3.22 we read *ὅτι ἥκοι ἂν εἰς εἶδός τι . . . ὅτι ἥκοι ἂν εἰς ἐνέργειαν.* In Eur. *Bacch.* 1380 also we find *ἂν ἥκοις* used in the future sphere. These examples show that the perfect force of the verb vanishes, or can vanish, when used in the optative. Some scholars maintain that such is the case also in Soph. *Ai.* 186. But *ἥκω* here retains its perfect force and expresses merely the subjective conviction of the mariners. The act itself is in the past, whereas the verification of that act is in the future. In other words, we have here an

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equivalent to the periphrastic perfect of the optative with *ἄν*, the favorite Greek method of expressing a thought of this kind. See my article in the *Class. Rev.* XIX. 150. Add *El.* 797.

Verse 192

ὄμμ' ἔχων. To the examples I have cited in *Class. Rev.* XXIII. 40 add Dio Cassius, 63. 28 *πρός τε τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τὸν νοῦν ἐχόντων*, Porphyry, *De Abstin.* 3.10 *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸν νοῦν ἔχων.* Ajax is represented as *μόνος παρὰ σκηναῖσιν*, as later his son (984). The hero has resolutely turned his face away from the field of battle. Like Achilles, like Hoder in Matthew Arnold's "Balder Dead," —

> Down to the margin of the roaring sea
> He came and sadly went along the sand.

Verse 206

θολερᾷ χειμῶνι. With poetic brevity this phrase refers to the madness of Ajax, to his darkened soul. Cp. Shakspere, *Tempest* 5.1: —

> Their understanding
> Begins to swell, and the approaching tide
> Will shortly fill the reasonable shores,
> That now lie foul and muddy.

So Io (Aesch. *Prom.* 885 f.): *θολεροὶ δὲ λόγοι πταίουσ' εἰκῇ στυγνῆς πρὸς κύμασιν ἄτης.* The best illustration of the meaning of these two passages is found in Dio Cassius 38.18 *ὅταν δὲ δὴ πάθημά τι τὴν ψυχὴν καταλάβῃ, θολοῦται καὶ σκοτοῦται καὶ οὐδὲν δύναται καίριον ἐννοῆσαι . . . τὴν ἀχλύν μου ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφελεῖν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖόν με φῶς ἐπαναγαγεῖν.* The mind, being clouded, cannot think; all the reasoning powers are paralyzed. This state may be brought about by frenzy, by wine, and by many other causes. Cp. Philostratus, *Ap. Tyan.* 37 *εἰ δ' ἀμφὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον ἢ μέσας νύκτας, ὅτε βεβύθισταί τε καὶ*

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ξυντεθόλωται ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, *Imag.* 92 ἐς αὐτὸν γὰρ ἐσφκίσατο (*sc.* Ἐρινύς) τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ στέρνου χορεύει μέσῳ αὐτῷ ἔσω σκιρτῶσα καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν θολοῦσα, Erot. Graec. Theodorus, *Rhod. and Dos.* 3.12 ἅτε σκοτισθεὶς τὸ φρονοῦν καὶ τὸ κρίνον . . . καὶ συνθολούσης τοῦ λογισμοῦ τὰς κόρας. When the pupils of the eyes of reason are beclouded, naturally the light cannot penetrate the mind; and θολερόν is the opposite of διαφανές. Cp. Plotinus 6. 4.11 οἷον τῷ φωτὶ τὸ διαφανές· τῷ δὲ τεθολωμένῳ ἡ μετάληψις, Theodorus, *Rhod. and Dos.* 2. 322 ἡ γὰρ περιττὴ συρροὴ τῶν φροντίδων σκότον καταρραίνουσα . . . καὶ νύκτα πολλὴν καὶ βαθύσκιον ζόφον καὶ . . . συνθολοῦσα, 3.22 ἀχλύες παχυνέφελοι θολοῦσι καὶ σκοτοῦσι, Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 2 θολερὸν ὄμβρων ἐπιγινομένων, *Timoleon* 27 θολερὸς ἀὴρ . . . κατενέφωσε, *De Isid. et Osir.* 79 θολερὸν καὶ ἰλυῶδες, *De Tuenda San. Praecepta* 12 μὴ ναυτιώδης μηδὲ θολερὸς . . . μηδὲ τεταραγμένος, Anthol. Gr. 3.1.277 θολεραῖς νεφέλαις, Theophrastus, *Fr.* 3.3.24 ὁμιχλώδη καὶ θολερώδη, 3.6.48 παχὺς καὶ θολερώτατος ἀήρ, Eustath. 1.3.1 τὸν ἀέρα θολοῦσι, Aristotle, *Zoica* 338 ἡ σηπία τὸν θολὸν ἀφίησι, Josephus, *Antiq. Iud.* 3.10 ἄχρηστον . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ θολερὸν εἶναι, Porphyry, *De Abstin.* 1.42 ὕδωρ . . . ἐάν τι δέξηται ῥυπαρόν, εὐθέως μιαίνεται καὶ θολοῦται, Georg. Pisid. 762 πνευματώσῃ καὶ σκοτώσῃ τὴν θέαν . . . μηδ' αὖ ταράξῃ καὶ θολώσῃ τὰς κόρας.

Verse 285

ἄκρας νυκτός usually refers to one *end* of night or the other, but here signifies "upon the heavy middle of the night" (*Measure for Measure* 4.1), an "unseasonable instant of the night" (*Much Ado about Nothing* 2.2).

Verse 586

> The poet
> As old in time as Plato, and as knowing,
> Says, that your highest female grace is silence.
> — Ben Jonson, *Volpone* 3.2.

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Nothing is sure of fulfilment; the firm will and purpose are broken, and the oath (by which we hope to strengthen them) as well.

Women are soft, mild, pitiful, and flexible;
Thou stern, obdurate, flinty, rough, remorseless.
— Shakspere, *3 Henry VI.* 1.4.

VERSES 671 ff.

If Winter bellow from the north,
Soon the sweet Spring comes dancing forth,
And Nature laughs again.
— Horace, *Od.* 2.10 (Cowper).

Nature! great parent! whose unceasing hand
Rolls round the Seasons of the changeful year.
— Thomson, *Winter*, 106–107.

tout n'est que changement.
L'Hiver ne glace point tous les mois de l'année.
— A. Chénier, *Elégie* 26.

ὁ δὲ χθὲς εἰς τὸν σήμερον τέθνηκεν, ὁ δὲ σήμερον εἰς τὸν αὔριον· μένει δὲ οὐδὲ εἷς.

— Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 11.11.7.

the dayes and nights to serve our turne
Content them selves to yield each other place.
— Old English Play, *Iocasta.*

Nothing doth still the same; the stars do wander,
And have their divers influence, the elements
Shuffle into innumerable changes . . . herbs and trees
Admit their frost and summer; and why then
Should our desires . . . be such stayed things within us?
— Shirley, *The Traitor* 2.2.

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No less than a dozen emendations have been proposed. I think we have the words substantially as Sophocles wrote them. One division of the chorus has just entered, after a fruitless search for the body of Ajax, and here, as in another drama of Sophocles (*Fr.* 154), they could aptly say:—

τίς γάρ με μόχθος οὐκ ἐπεστάτει;

and then continue with the words in our text:—

πόνος πόνῳ πόνον φέρει·
πᾷ πᾷ
πᾷ γὰρ οὐκ ἔβαν ἐγώ;
κοὐδεὶς ἐπιστατεῖ με συμμαθεῖν τόπος.

"Jeden Ort habe ich besucht, und kein Ort tritt mir vor Auge, der mir Mitwissen gönnte." The *τόπος* referred to (cp. 657) is the one which holds the body. This locus *knows*. If the mariners can find it, they will share in that knowledge (cp. 914). The words *ἐπιστατεῖ με* could easily have been mistaken for *ἐπίσταταί με*. Cp. Lucian, *Peregrinus* 40 *ἐπέστην τινὶ πολιῷ ἀνδρί*.

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OEDIPUS TYRANNUS

EMENDATIONS AND EXPLANATIONS (198–199)

τέλει γὰρ, εἴ τι νὺξ ἀφῇ,
τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἔρχεται.

The verb ἀφῇ does not signify *omit*, but *emit*. The elders pray that the destructive Ares be driven to the uttermost parts of the earth. Not a day passes but he showers his missiles on the helpless Thebans — and they keep coming all day long: —

βέλη γὰρ εἴ τιν' ἐξαφῇ,
ταῦτ' ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἔρχεται.

It is these κῆλα θέοιο that the poet has in mind. When the angry Apollo discharged his arrows at the offending Achaeans, there was no cessation for nine days: ἐννῆμαρ ὤχετο κῆλα θέοιο. As long as the Destroyer remains in their country, the defenceless Thebans cannot get ὑπὲκ βελῶν (Δ 465).

The form ἐξαφιέναι is not extremely rare. To the examples cited in my article on this passage (*C. R.* XXV.) add Josephus, *De Bello Iud.* 2.613 ἐξαφῆκεν, 4.372 ἐξηφίετο.

(219–221)

The words ἀγὼ ἐξερῶ point backward to τἄμ' ἔπη and forward to προφωνῶ τάδε (consequently also to 224–275), and τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ' refers to the report of the murder of the king (106–107), as related by Creon (compare the immediate interrogation by Oedipus ποῦ . . . ἴχνος with ἴχνευον in 220), while τοῦ πραχθέντος means the murder itself. Since he is a stranger both to the story and to the deed, he must get all the facts of the case

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and solicit the aid of the Thebans; for he could not make much progress in the investigation, unless he found some clue to follow up. If the Thebans refuse to help their king in this extremity, he would be obliged to proceed alone (*αὐτός*), and with the prospect of almost certain failure. If, on the other hand, the Cadmeians (who were in the city when *ὁ λόγος ὅδε* was first heard, that is, soon after the murder was committed), this *ἴχνος δυστέκμαρτον παλαιᾶς αἰτίας εὑρεθήσεται*, and Oedipus will be able to make some headway in overtaking the criminal and will eventually find out *ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τίνος διώλετο*. This clue the Thebans themselves must supply before even a start can be made.

(227–235)

The whole difficulty vanishes as soon as we restore *ἐπεγκαλῶν*, which has been dislodged by *ὑπεξελῶν*. I have discussed the passage *in extenso* in the *Classical Review* (September, 1911). To the examples cited there, and in a subsequent issue (November), I have only one to add: Procopius, *Anecdota* 152 *καίπερ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἐπεγκαλεῖν ἔχων*. These constitute, I believe, the sum total of examples of this compound in Greek literature. In Dio Cassius we find a passage which shows how easy it was to shift from one form to the other: *ᾧ οὐδὲν ἐπεκάλεσας* (46.14) . . . *ἐγκαλεῖ αὐτῷ* (46.15).

(328–329)

The text gives us what the sense and the dramatic situation require: *οὐ μή ποτε . . . ἐκφήνω κακά*. These *κακά* are *τἄμ' ὡς-ἂν-εἴπω-μὴ-τά σ'* — almost a compound adjective made for the nonce. The seer means that the evils are expressly called *τἀμά* "that so I may not name them *τὰ σά*." Both the use of the more cautious *ὡς ἄν* and the position of *μή* are significant — *οὐ μή ποτε τἄμ' (ἐπιμελῶς οὕτω ῥηθέντα καὶ μὴ τὰ σ') ἐκφήνω*. Even the emphatic *σά* could not have appeared as *σ'* if *τἄμ'* had not preceded the interwoven clause.

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(1089–1094)

The text is indefensible. But one tiny stroke of the pen, joined to a still tinier stroke, will bring order out of confusion and give us a perfectly clear stream of thought.

The adjective *ἀπείρων*, the commentators say, means 'ignorant,' in spite of the fact that the word does not occur in this sense anywhere in the extant literature. If, however, we write *ἀπείργων*, all the difficulties vanish; and Jebb's change of *Οἰδίπου* to the accusative is rendered absolutely unnecessary, *τὰν ἄϋριον πανσέληνον* becoming the subject of *αὔξειν* (cp. 438 *ἥδ' ἡμέρα φύσει σε*). The emphatic position of *ἀπείργων* is natural after the asseveration; and the insertion of the vocative between the participle and *οὐκ ἔσει* (to mark the excitement) is also natural.

Periphrases similar to this are frequent in the play: 90 and 1146 *σιωπήσας ἔσει*, 991, 274, 126. Cp. *Ai.* 1320, Eur. *Hec.* 1179, Xen. *An.* 7.6.36 *κατακανόντες ἔσεσθε*. If the periphrasis had not been used, the sentence would have read: *οὐκ ἀπείρξεις τὰν ἄϋριον πανσέληνον μὴ οὐ σέ γε καὶ πατριώταν Οἰδίπου καὶ τροφὸν καὶ ματέρ' αὔξειν*. Cp. Hdt. 8.98 *ἡ νὺξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι*, Soph. *Ai.* 70 *ἀπείρξω . . . εἰσιδεῖν*.

(1526)

The reading of L is *ὅστις οὐ ζήλῳ πολιτῶν καὶ τύχαις ἐπιβλέπων*. The first word *ὅν*, by two strong converging influences (*ὃς* above and *τίς* adjoining), was changed to *ὅς*, with the result that the compound *ὅστις*, which conformed also to the cast of the sentence in the preceding verse (*ὃς . . . ἦν*), was formed from the relative and the juxtaposed interrogative (*ὃν τίς*). When this *ὅστις* came into being, the succeeding words could not stand, and the verb underwent a transformation (*ζηλοῖ — ζηλῷ*), to correspond to the dative *τύχαις*; and, subsequently, to join the two datives a *καί* was manufactured out of the article *ταῖς* by dropping the final *ς*.

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Scholars have invariably tried to restore a verb which would correspond to ᾔδει . . . ἦν. But the present is the tense required, for ζηλοῖ is thrown into the past by the modifying τύχαις ἐπιβλέπων, which the poet appends with the express purpose of informing us that it is ὁ πᾶσι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους καλούμενος to whom he would draw our attention — "regarding (solely) the series of good fortunes of Oedipus, who of the citizens does not envy him?" Cp. Dinarchus 1.72 ff. Sophocles is really contrasting the two states of Oedipus (1)

that once trod the ways of glory
And sounded all the depths and shoals of honour,

and (2) now so little of his great self, fallen indeed, never to hope again, all his glories and triumphs shrunk to this little measure. Oedipus, like Creon, ἦν ζηλωτός, but now—shipwrecked upon a kingdom.

Sophocles means, then: τότε μὲν πᾶσι πολίταις ζηλωτός, νῦν δὲ ἀζήλωτος. The participle ἐπιβλέπων signifies 'turning the eyes to and gazing upon.' Cp. Eur. *Hipp.* 246 ἐπ' αἰσχύνην ὄμμα τέτραπται, Iamblichus 16 οὐκ ὀρθῶς δὲ τετραμμένῳ οὐδὲ βλέποντι οἷ ἔδει, Plato, *Rep.* 519 A βλέπει τὸ ψυχάριον . . . ἐφ' ἃ τέτραπται, Nonnus 31, 159 τρέψον ἐμοὶ τέον ὄμμα.

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PHILOCTETES

EMENDATIONS AND EXPLANATIONS

Verses 22–23

The text is sound, with the exception of a solitary *τ* (in 23), which has dropped out.

Cliffs tower above the heads of the two men. Odysseus knows that he is in the right locality; his task is to discover the exact spot. He cannot go himself. So he sends his young companion in advance. The latter is now above Odysseus. Still higher up is a spring, if it gushes forth now where it did ten years ago. A little higher, and to the right, is the cave of Philoctetes. These Neoptolemus is to approach and indicate to his companion below by means of a quiet signal:—

ἄ μοι προσελθὼν σῖγα σήμαιν' — εἴτε χεῖ
χῶρον πρὸς αὐτὸν τόνδ' ἔτ' εἴτ' ἄλλῃ κυρεῖ.

It is the cave they are searching for, not the man. Odysseus has no fear that the afflicted Greek has migrated to another part of the island (41).

When *εἴτε χεῖ* became *εἴτ' ἔχει*, the sense of the whole passage was obscured. Hence the variations in our manuscripts.

Verse 42

The noun *κῶλον* is not the accusative of specification; *παλαιᾷ* does not qualify *κηρί*; *κηρί* does not go with *νοσῶν*; and *προσβαίη* does not signify either 'go forward' or 'come toward.'

Philoctetes was bitten in the foot, not in the leg (*κῶλον*). Cp. 7, 91, 291, 632, 748, 1188, 1201. The most illuminating passage for the meaning of *κῶλον* is Plato, *Tim.* 44 E. Cp. *Leg.*

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789 E, Eur. *Hec.* 1164, *Phoen.* 1192. Philoctetes, *νοσῶν*, cannot stand the pressure on his *νόσῳ καταστάζοντα διαβόρῳ πόδα*, cannot plant his foot firmly on the ground, and thus *walk μακράν*. As he himself declares, he goes *δύστηνον ἑξέλκων πόδα* (291); he cannot place his *κῶλον πρὸς τὴν γῆν*. This is the force of the preposition in *προσβαίη*. Cp. Poll. 5. 23, Ar. *Eccl.* 161, *Eq.* 77, Theogn. 283, Eur. *Or.* 1470, and the Homeric *λὰξ προσβάς*.

Some scribe mistook *παλαῖον* for *παλαιόν*, and, as 'old plague' made better sense than 'old leg,' promptly changed to *παλαιᾷ* to agree with *κηρί*. Metaphors from the palaestra were just as natural as metaphors from the sea, and the vivid picture of *κῶλον* wrestling with *κηρί* is thoroughly Greek, thoroughly Sophoclean. Cp. Hes. *Op.* 411 *ἀνὴρ ἄτῃσι παλαίει*. But *κήρ* never means 'disease' (in spite of Liddell and Scott, who assign such a meaning to the word in this passage). The regular connotation is 'death,' or that which may be conceived as 'death,' hence 'pernicies.' Of course, *νόσος* also may be conceived as 'pest,' and so, metaphorically, the two ideas may merge. But the point to be emphasized here is that *κήρ* never signifies an actual *νόσος*. Even in 1166, where the chorus are endeavoring to persuade Philoctetes to go with them to Troy, *κῆρα* refers to his affliction, to his *ἄτη*, and not directly to the *ἕλκος*. As *σκέλος* is a species of *κῶλον*, so *κήρ* is a species of *θάνατος*. The post-Homeric writers make scant use of the word. In later Greek, the plural occurs occasionally, the singular very rarely.

Verse 79

I agree with Jebb in accepting Erfurdt's emendation *παῖ*, as against Linwood, and Campbell, who defend the *καί* of the MSS. As Jebb remarks, "the caressing tone of *παῖ* is dramatically happy at this moment." We have another such example in *O. T.* 1008 *ὦ παῖ, καλῶς εἶ δῆλος οὐκ εἰδὼς τί δρᾷς*. What a word for a slave to use to a king! Cp. 1030 *ὦ τέκνον*. These

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show that the messenger does not mean to say that he expects a tip, when he asserts *καὶ μὴν μάλιστα τοῦτ' ἀφικόμην, ὅπως | σοῦ πρὸς δόμους ἐλθόντος εὖ πράξαιμί τι.* The *χάρις* he desires is the presence of his former charge in Corinth.

The retention of *καί* in *Phil.* 79 can hardly be justified on any grounds.

Verse 425

Of all the men in the world it was Antilochus that the ancients recognized as the son to whom the epithet of "Philopator" could most properly be applied; he was the unapproachable model: *Ἀντίλοχος τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπεραποθανὼν τοσαύτης ἔτυχεν εὐκλείας ὥστε μόνος φιλοπάτωρ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀναγορευθῆναι.* Hence I should change the insipid *ὅσπερ ἦν γόνος* to *ὁ στέργων γόνος*, which completes the sentence much more satisfactorily. The corruption is due either (1) to the dropping out of the *γ* (as in *ἀπείργων*, *O. T.* 1089) — *ὥσπερ ὤν* subsequently becoming *ὥσπερ ἦν* — or (2) to haplography: *οστεργων γονος* lost the first (or second) *γον*, and *οστερ γόνος* generated *ὅσπερ ἦν γόνος*.

Verse 533

I believe Sophocles wrote *προσκύσαντ' ἐς τὴν ἔσω*. Neoptolemus is about to enter the hole in the rock, the homeless habitation, for the first time, Philoctetes for the last time; so they greet the household gods: *εἶμ' εἴσω δόμων . . . οὐκ ἀτιμάσω | θεοὺς προσειπεῖν πρῶτα τοὺς κατὰ στέγας*, as Heracles says when he returns to his home in Thebes. The participle is used here absolutely. The preposition, which is indispensable, lurks in the ending of the dual of the aorist participle. Both L and the scholiast read *προσκύσαντες*. This preposition (*προσκύσαντ' ἐς*) is merely reënforced and emphasized by *ἔσω* and *εἰσ(οίκησιν)*. It would have been impossible for the poet to append *ὡς μάθῃς κτἑ* to *ἴωμεν*, if he was thinking of representing Philoctetes as merely bidding a solemn farewell to the grotto and leaving

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Lemnos. They do obeisance before they enter the cave, not afterwards. The final clause depends on *ἴωμεν . . . ἐς*.

Verse 782

The first and last feet are out of joint; hence the text has been tampered with, with the result that *εὐχή* has probably been pushed forward to the sixth, whereas it stood originally in the fifth foot. The magnet which attracted the original words in the sixth foot was probably *δέδοικα μή*. If Sophocles wrote

ὦ παῖ, δέδοικα μὴ τελῇς εὐχὴν μὲν οὐ,

the last two words shifted their position, to bring *οὐ* nearer to *μή* and at the same time in juxtaposition with the verb. This pushed *τελῇς εὐχήν* forward to the last meter; and *μὲν οὐ τελῇς* was then transformed into *με ουτελης* (*ἀτελής*), because *μέν*, in this position, had no justification, and with the elision of *ε*, the phrase became *μή μ' ἀτελής*. The accusative *εὐχήν* then became *εὐχή* perforce. But any scribe, however stupid, would observe that the verse now lacked one foot. Hence doctoring was absolutely necessary; and the obvious thing to do, in order to secure the extra foot, was to prefix *ἀλλά*, which seems so natural that Jebb considers it sound. When *ἀλλά* was added, *ὦ παῖ* (necessarily) shifted to its present position after *δέδοικα*, which gave the jumble of words in our manuscripts:—

ἀλλὰ δέδοικ', ὦ παῖ, μή μ' ἀτελὴς εὐχή.

For the meaning of the verse, as I have restored it, compare Clytemnestra's exclamation (*Ag.* 973): *ὦ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τελει.*

Verses 1153–1154

Porson saw that *ἀνέδην* must go with *ἔρπετε*; but neither Porson, nor any scholar after Porson, has seen what Sophocles intended to say. The phrase *ὅδε χῶρος* should be *ὅδε χωρίς*, this adverb having become *χῶρος* through the influence (chiefly)

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of the ὅδε χῶρος just above. With this alteration the whole antistrophe becomes perfectly clear (ὅδε referring to Philoctetes himself) and, in spite of the numerous emendations, we see that we have the text exactly as Sophocles wrote it. Proofs of this, with a full discussion of the whole antistrophe, will be published in the *Classical Review*.

Verses 1218–1221

I believe that ὁμοῦ has changed places with πέλας. This shift in position may have been made deliberately by some Attic redactor, who thought ὁμοῦ meant 'near' (schol. ἐγγύς) — both are used with the participle στείχων — or inadvertently by some copyist whose eye (or mind) wandered from πέλας στείχων to ὁμοῦ στείχοντα. Certainly ὁμοῦ in the usual sense of 'together' is desired in 1219. Sophocles means, I take it, 'I should have been long ago near my ship, if I had not descried Odysseus together with Achilles' son coming hither.' Cp. Ar. *Ran.* 1506 Μύρμηκί θ' ὁμοῦ καὶ Νικομάχῳ, *Av.* 1332 τά τε μουσίχ' ὁμοῦ τά τε μαντικά, and the Homeric phrases γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον (169), ὁμοῦ χείράς τε πόδας τε (μ 178). This adverb does not occur in the elegiac and iambic poets, in Herodotus, or in the genuine orations of any orator, except Demosthenes. The expression ἤδη . . . πέλας στείχων ἂν ἦ recalls the ἐγγὺς τῆς θύρας ἤδη βαδίζων εἰμί of Dionysus (Ar. *Ran.* 36) — 'on this tramp of mine I am now near the door.' The coryphaeus observes Odysseus and Neoptolemus approaching together. The participle στείχοντα does not indicate in what direction they are moving (it had just been used of motion *away from* the speaker); hence the addition of πρὸς ἡμᾶς δεῦρ' ἰόντ(ε) — the dual, not the singular — which makes πέλας superfluous. Consequently ὁμοῦ is required in 1219, useless (or inappropriate) in 1218; whereas πέλας is demanded in 1218, unnecessary in 1219. In fact, it is just this traditional stage "Look, where he comes" (*Othello* 3. 4) that must have been present to the mind of the copyist

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when he wrote *πέλας Ὀδυσσέα . . . ἐλεύσσομεν*: the scribe had *πέλας* in his mind's eye already when he looked up from the page on which he was writing and espied a *πέλας* not only immediately above *ὁμοῦ* (which was then dislodged), but also, as it happened, immediately preceding another *στείχων*. Cp. Eur. *Or.* 877 ff. *Ὀρέσταν κεῖνον οὐχ ὁρᾷς πέλας στείχοντ' . . . ὁρῶ . . . Πυλάδην τε καὶ σὸν σύγγονον στείχονθ' ὁμοῦ*, Soph. *O. C.* 29 *πέλας γὰρ ἄνδρα νῷν ὁρῶ*.

These emendations and explanations in the *Philoctetes* will be published in full elsewhere. I have given brief abstracts here for the sake of completeness.

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An Old Portuguese Version of the Rule of Benedict

BY
JOHN M. BURNAM

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UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI
STUDIES

An Old Portuguese Version of the Rule of Benedict

Palaeographical edition from the Alcobaça MS No. 300 (agora 231) in the Bibliotheca Publica of Lisbon

BY
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University of Cincinnati

Benedictus Cassinensis, Saint.

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PREFACE

This MS consists of two parts, the former datable about 1160, in a rather heavy semi-gothic hand, has 139 ff. of parchment on which is copied a Kalendarium (1-92), followed by a Latin version of the Rule of Benedict (92-135), and by four ff. originally left blank, but afterwards used to copy a table of contents to part second; the latter part contains ff. XXXIV of parchment with the Portuguese text herein published. The measurements are mm. 320 by 218 for the material, and 240 by 150 for the writing. Part I has the usual alternation of red and blue initials, with hyphens, but no running title: the quires for both portions were calculated for eight ff. each. Nos. I-XI are signed, XII has lost the seventh folio, XIII-XVII have eight, all unsigned. The MS exhibits a series of rubrics and dates especially marginal in red color. It employs accents over i vowel or consonant in the neighborhood of another i, of m, n, or u; likewise some word accents.

This codex is represented in the editor's Palaeographia Iberica by plates III (Pt. I) and IV (Pt. II), with a summary description and bibliography. But it deserves a more detailed mention.

The MS is listed p. 132 of the *Index Codicum Bibliothecae Alcobatiae*, Olisipone, 1775 (hereafter referred to as the Index of 1775) and by Fr. Fortunato de S. Boaventura, *Historia Chronologica, e Critica da real Abbadia de Alcobaca*, Lisboa 1827, pp. 67-68. The Index of 1775 on the strength of the subscription* had assigned the Version to the year 1270, and had taken on faith the interlinear statement in Latin that the translator's name was Fr. Martinho de Aljubarrota. Fr. F. observes that the language of the version is of the XVth Century and that this Fr. Martinho had signed Cod. 330 containing the Rule in Latin and the Usos de Cister, June 27th, 1410.

Let the Romance scholars (for whom this palaeographical edition is prepared) tell us how nearly accurate is Fr. F. in his remarks about the language: as for the date, the present editor

* See p. 78.

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has evidence to offer of another kind which seems either to have escaped the notice of the learned monk or not have been properly appreciated.

1. That subscription, in Latin and in red letters, is by an entirely different hand from that of the text above and from that of the interlinear mention of Fr. Martinho. The subscription is two or three decades later than the text, and the interlinear later still. These items have the appearance of forgeries and possess little, if any, historical value.

2. Those originally unoccupied ff. at the end of Pt. I were afterwards used to transcribe a summary of the Version by ff. and chapters. The hand is that of the marginal note pl. III of the editor's Pal. Iberica, see the photograph. That note partially destroyed by the binder's knife says, "Obijt domnus martinus quartus decimus abbas alcobatie;" now (Historia, etc., p. 178) this Abbot reigned from 1369 to his death, September 30, 1381. If we allow as much as four or five years for the period between the "obiit" and the insertion of the note in the margin of the Kalendarium, we must assign the summary to about 1385. Of course, the Version can not be later than this date, which agrees well enough with the style of writing used in our text.

The writing of the Version is a handsome rounded Gothic, carefully executed, provided with the usual Rubrics, alternate red and blue initials, rubrics, quires of eight ff., etc. The scribe makes a rather sparing use of abbreviations as becomes the copyist of a liturgical text. He uses the bar over vowels or consonants, or cutting the projecting shafts of consonants, with the time-honored meaning. His nasal bar* surmounting a pair of vowels, is in Portuguese fashion, rather between the two than over either one. He has sometimes used it either by mistake or as he also employs the cut stroke, to act a sort of "signum conjunctivum" to note a digraph. He has sometimes used it superfluously. He makes use of the 9-shaped hook for the ending -us, the -ur hook, the pro sign, some superposed vowels, the curve attached to f and s to show the syllables fer or fir and ser.

Our MS uses the majuscule final R now and then, the initial double consonant very rarely: among such instances we should probably not count desseer, etc., as the scribe felt this conbination to be one single word.

* Contrary to Portuguese custom, we have everywhere transcribed the nasal bar, not with the tilde, but with an italicised m or n.

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The accents deserve more attention. Besides the i accent already mentioned, the copyist so treats practically all his double vowels, sometimes, it seems, to indicate a long vowel, sometimes to point out the open character of such vowel, just as is done in modern Portuguese. More interesting are the cases where the accent shows the location of the voice stress. This usage already occurring in the IXth Century in books to be read aloud before a congregation or a gathering, does not seem to be current in the Peninsula earlier than about A. D. 1000; there it occurs in Bibles, Liturgies, and Patristic books. It combines with the accents over a pair of long vowels, especially if the latter of these was stressed, *e. g.*, in an early Bible, canáán.

The important cases in this text are: *accented finals*, most often in verbs, *e. g.*, será; but also in nouns as moradór, in conjunctions as in peró (very frequent); *penults*, where the reader might have looked for the stress on the antepenult, *e. g.*, tempére ordéne; or on the *antepenult*, as in déprecor, cántico. Note the frequency of -éo in the preterit of certain verbs; also forms like alhéo, candéa, iudéa. Why amádos, abbáde? Above all, why fómento?

Another remarkable phenomenon in this MS is the occurrence three times of the caret in its modern form and with its modern meaning, in all cases by the scribe who executed the codex: the oldest outcropping of this symbol so far as known to the editor.

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Começase oprologo da regla de sambeento abbade.

Como nos *con*uida asanta script*ura* q*ue* nos *con*uertamos 7nos *tor*nemos p*er*a d*eus* ..... .I.

De q*ua*es obras deuemos de começar. p*or* hyr ao regno de d*eus*,

Per q*ue* modo 7 maneyra podemos h*er*dar amorada do reyno de d*eus* ..... .II.

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An Old Portuguese Version of the Rule of Benedict

PROLOGO. (Caption begins with two majuscules blue and red).

(a) (Red) CO meçase oprólogo da Regla de San béénto abbade: F (black) ilho ascuyta os preceptos 2 mandamentos do mééstre. 2 jnclina 2 abaíxa a orelha do teu coraçom 2 recibe deboamente 2 toma oamoestamento 2 conselho do padre piadoso. 2 afficadamente o comple 2 ponhe en obra. por que te tornes por trabalho de obediencia. áaquel do qual te partiste. 2. arredaste. por priguíça. 2. peccado de desobedencia. (b) Poys por este. aty hora eu digo o meu sermón 2 as minhas palauras .quemquer tu es que queres renunciar 2 fugir aos propios deleytos 2 plazeres dacarne 2 deste mundo 2 tomas armas de obediencia muy fortes 2 muy claras 2 nobres. per seruir a jhesu christo .senhor 2 uerdadeyro Rey. (c) E primeyramente en começo do teu tornamento. demanda 2 roga ael en tua oraçom muyto afficadamente que queyra complir 2 acabar. qualquer cousa deben que começas afazer. que poys que el ja teue por ben 2 lhe prougue de nos poér 2. receber en no conto dos seus filhos. non se haja decon (ras. 1 litt.) tristar 2.anojar en alguum tempo. dos nossos mááos feytos 2 obras. (d) E assy certamente lhe deuemos séér obedientes en todo tempo 2 en toda hora por los beens 2. mercees que del Recebemos. que non tam. solamente. assy como padre irado. non delexerde os filhos en alguum tempo. mas ajnda que nen. assy como senhor temeroso 2 mouido a sanha por los nossos peccados. dé apena. 2 alcance entormento pera sempre. os muymááos seruos que o non quiseran seguír pera ir áá sua gloria.

CAP. I. (Red) Como nos conuida a sancta scriptura que nos conuertamos 7 tornemos pera deus 2 diz:

(a) (Blue) P (Black) oys leuantemonos irmááos se quer en alguum tempo do sono do peecado. ca a escrip-

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CAP. I tura uos esperta. 7 brááda anos dizendo. Hora he ja denos leuantarmos do sono. quer dizer do peccádo. (b) E depoys que abrirmos os olhos do nosso
(I Vo)
coraçon. ao lume do conhecimento de deus. com as orelhas do nosso entendimento attentos. ouçamos aquelo que nos amoesta encadahuum dia auoz de deus 2 diz Hoje se ovuirdes auoz do senhor non queyrades endurentar os uossos coraçoones. (e) E diz ajnda mays. Aquel que teu orelha de entendimento pera ovuir. ouça 2 entenda ben. aquelo que o spiritu de deus diz ás egrejas. (d) E que diz. Uíjnde uos filhos 2 ovuide me 2 ensinar uos hey que cousa he o temor de deus (Red.) A (Black) Correde 2. trabalhade enquanto hauedes lume de uída. nen pella uentura as téébras da morte uos encalcem 7 aReuatem. (e) E querendo 2 buscando onosso senhor deus na multidoone doseu pobóó. o seu obreyro. aoquel estas cousas brááda .diz mays. Qual he ohomem que quer vida perdurauil 7 cobíjça 2 quer uéér bóós dias. (f) A qual cousa se atu ovuíres 2 respondéres 2 disseres. Eu. Diz te logo deus. Se tu queres hauer uerdadeíra uida 2 pera sempre .quita 2 guarda atua lingua dotodo máão falar. 2 atua boca non fale engano. Parte te de mal 2 faze ben. busca 2 demanda apaz 2 siguí a. (g) Equando uos esto fezerdes .Os olhos da minha misercordia esguardarám. sobre uos 2 as minhas orelhas serám aprestes pera ovuír as uossas prezes 2 rogos 2. petiçoones. (Red) E (Black) antes que me chamedes. direy. (h) Eys me prestes soom. pera comprir uossas petiçoones 2 desejos. Jrmaanos muyto amádos. 2 qual cousa pode séér melhor. 2 mays dolçe anos. que esta uoz do senhor. que nos conuída. 2 chama. en cada huum dia. (i) Eys o nosso senhor deus por la sua piedade. nos demostra o caminho 2 a carreyra da uída perdurauil.

CAP. II. (Red) De quaaes obras deuemos decomeçar pera ír ao regno de deus. (a) P(Black) rimeyramente. os nossos lombos 2. forças dos nossos corpos 2 das nossas almas ja cingidos 2 cercados 2. apparelhados con fe 2 con obseruancia .2 guarda de boas obras. andemos jrmaanos .os camínhos de deus perlo guíamento do euang-

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elho. pera séérmos dignos 2 merecedores. deuéér aquel senhor. que nos chamou.

(II Ro)

en no seu regno. (b) Enno qual regno se nosqueremos2 desejamos uíuer 2 morar. non podemos ael ír. portrabalho de boas obras. E porém .se queremos saber como podemos ír morar ao seu reyno. preguntemos onosso senhor deus. con opropheta .dizendo ael. (c) Senhor. quem uíuírá 2 morará no teu tabernaculo 2 morada do Reyno dos cééos. ou quem folgará no teu sancto 2 alto monte? Depoys desta pregunta. irmaanos ouçamos onosso senhor deus que nos responde 2 demostra ocaminho 2 accarréira. da sua morada. 2 diz. (d) Aquel que entra 2 uíue sen magoa 2 çugidade de peccado. 2 faz obras de íustiça 2 deben. (e) Aquel que fala 2 diz uerdade no seu coraçon como afala 2 diz porla sua boca. (f) Aquel que non fez engano con a sua lingua. (g) Aquelque non fez nem disse mal a nehuum homem. (h) Aquel que non recebéo nem lhe prougue o mal 2 odoesto do seu proximo. nem o quís ouvir deboa mente. (i) Aquel que esquiou 2 empouxou de ante apresença do seu coraçon o diabóó malicioso. que omouia. 2 conselhaua falsamente o mal fazer. 2 uencéo 2 trouve anehuma cousa el 2 todo seu. mááo mouimento 2 conselho. 2 tomou 2 reteue os começos das cuydaçoones pequenas 2 das tentaçoones 2 maaos encitamentos 2 mouimentos del que non crecessem 2 quebrantou-os en jhesu christo confessando os 2 demostrandóós ael 2 chamando a sua graça 2 ajuda. (k) E aqueles que temen deus 2 por-lo ben 2 aboa uída que fazem non emsoberuecem nem se exalçam. mas cuydam 2 pensam que esse ben que en eles ha, non pode víjnr nem proceder. delles. mas que procede. 2 uen do senhor deus. 2 magnificam 2 louuam o senhor que en elles obra. (l) Dizendo con o propheta aquelo que he scripto: Non a nos senhor. non anos .mas ao teu santo nome da agloria 2 olouuor. (m) Assi como oapostolo san paulo. que da sua préégaçom nunca assi méésmo após nem contou nehuma cousa. mas dizia. Aquello que eu som feyto. porla graça de deus o soon. (n) E el diz mays. (o) Aquel que se gloría. 2 alegra. ennosenhor deus. se gloríe 2 alegre.

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CAP. II (p) E deste tal fala nosso senhor ihesu chr*isto* no euangelho hu diz. (g) Aquel q*ue* ouue.
(II Vo)
as minhas palau*r*as 2 as faz 2 po*n*hem en obra. eu o farey semelhauil ao homem sabedor. q*ue* edificou. 2 fundou a sua casa sobre a pedra. V(i, supra)éérom os Rios. sopráron os uentos. 2 empeçaron 2 derom en aq*ue*lla casa 2 no*n* cayó por q*ue* era fundada sobre pedra. (r) Aquestas cousas compliindo 2 acabando onosso senhor. (ras. 2 litt.) ihesu chr*isto*. aguarda 2 spera nos cada día q*ue* hajamos de Respondér aestes se*us* santos amoestame*n*tos co*n* boas obras 2 co boo*m*s feytos. (s) E po*r* tanto. por. emmenda 2 corregime*n*to dos nossos males 2 peccados. nos som dados 2 p*er*longados por treguas. os dias desta uida presente. (f) Como diz o apostolo. Per uentura no*n* sabes tu. q*ue* apaciencia de de*us*. te spera 2 trage apenite*n*cia? Ca onosso senhor de*us* muy piadoso. diz porlo p*rophet*a. (u) Non quero amorte do peccador. mas quero q*ue* se conu*er*ta 2 torne a penite*n*cia 2 uíua.

CAP. III. (Red) Per q*ue* modo 2 maneyra podemos herdar amorada do reyno de de*us* (a) (Blue) I (Black) Rmaaos. depoys q*ue* nos fezemos pregunta ao nosso senhor de*us*. do moradór. da sua casa. ovuímos o precepto 2 encome*n*damento q*ue* deue faz*er* 2 comp*r*ir aq*ue*l q*ue* en ela quiser víue*r* 2 morar. (b) Poys se nos quísermos faz*er* 2 comp*r*ir o officio 2 obras de morador desta casa. seremos herdeyros do regno dos céés. (c) E p*er*a esto deuemos de aparelhar os nossos coraçoo*n*es 2 os nossos corpos áá santa obediencia dos mandame*n*tos de de*us* p*er*ao se*r*uír. 2 batalhar 2 pugnár contra os peccados. E Roguemos ao senhor q*ue* nos de 2 ministre áájuda da sua graça. p*er*a faz*er* aq*ue*llo q*ue* anossa nat*ur*eleza en nos de sy no*n* pode obrar. (d) E se queremos víj*n*r áá vida p*er*durauil fugíndo áás penas 2 torme*n*tos do fogo do jnferno. enq*u*anto ajnda agora hauemos te*m*po. 2 en estes corpos mortááes somos. 2 p*er* aquesta carreyra de luz 2 de uída hauemos tempo p*er*a esto fazer 2 comp*r*ir. por tanto deuemos agora de trabalhar 2 fazer aq*ue*llo q*ue* nos seja boo*m* 2 proueytoso p*er*a semp*re*. (e) Poys p*er*a esto. q*ue*remos stablec*er* 2 ordenar hu*m*a scola de se*r*uiço

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CAP. III (III Ro)

de deus. no qual stabelecimento 2 ordenamento. non entendemos apoér nem ordenar cousa nehuma áspera nem graue. (f) Peró se alguum pouquetinho. ditando 2 mostrando nos o juyzo da boa Razom se seguir 2 posermos alguma cousa mays streytamente que entedemos. por corregimento 2 emmenda dos uíços 2 peccados. 2 por guarda da caridade. non tomes logo spanto nem pauór. nem fugas nem leixes o caminho 2 acarreyra da sahude. aqual nem se deue nem pode começar. se non .por começo 2 entramento streyto 2 apartado. (g) Mas por processo 2 acrecentamento de uirtudes de boa uída 2 de fe. depoys andaremos porlo caminho dos mandamentos de deus con coraçon largo 2 spacioso 2 folgado. con muyta dulcídón do amor de deus. sen conto 2 sen fín. (h) Assy. que nunca nos partindo do seu seruiço. 2 en na sua doutrina. atáá morte perseuerando. por paciencia padecendo 2 soffrendo. participemos 2 hajamos parte ennas payxoones 2 padecimentos de ihesu christo. (i) Por tal que sejamos merecedores de séér con el. parceyros 2 quynhoeyros do seu regno. (Incorrect Rubric erased).

(Red)

CAP. IV. De como hy ha quatro geeraçoones de monges

(a) (Blue) C(Black) Ousa certa 2 manifesta he.que quatro som as geeraçoones dos monges. (b) A primeyra géeraçon he. dos cenobitaanos .2 estes som aquelles que uíuem nos mosteyros so regla ou so abbade. (c) A segunda géeraçom. he dos anacorítas. conuem assabér. dos hermitaanes. non daquelles que nouamente con feruor 2 desejo de boa uída se conuertem 2 tornam a deus. mas daquelles que emprouaçon perlongada demosteyro 2 por longos tempos nos moosteiros ja ensinados por exemplo 2 uida 2 ajudoyro demuytos. aprendéron assaber pugnar 2 lidar contra odiabóó. (d) E elles ben ensinados 2 doutrinados dááz 2 conuersaçon forte da companhía dos Jrmaanos. pera batalhar 2 lidar apartada mente no hermo contra as tentaçóoes .2 ja seguros. sen consolaçon 2 sen ajuda doutro nehuum. con sua maano sóó 2 con seu braço por fortaleza do seu boom uíuer. 2 con.

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CAP. IV (III Vo)

o ajudoyro de deus som abastantes 2 sofficientes pera no hermo pugnar. 2 lidar contra os. uícios 2 peccados da carne 2 das cuydaçoones. (e) A terceyra géeraçon dos monges muy féa 2 spantosa. he ados sarabaytaanos. os quááes non som esprouados nem examinados. por nehuma Regla. nem por experiencia 2 doutrina de méestre. assi como o ouro na fornalha. mas estes fracos 2 molles assi como o chumbo. guardando 2 fazendo ajnda as obras domundo. mentem adeus porla tonsura 2 coroa 2 hauito que tragem. (f) Os quááes dous 2 dous .ou tres 2 tres. ou certamente cadahuum en sua parte sen pastor 2 regedor. non ennos mosteyros 2 casas de deus. mas en suas cellas 2 logares. appartados. tomam 2 ham por ley fazer 2 comprir todas suas voontades. 2 os seus desejos. 2 qualquer cousa que elles cuydarem ou pensarem segundo suas voontades pera fazer. ou elegerem 2 escolerem. (g) Aquesta dizem que he boa 2 santa. (h) E aquella cousa que elles non quiserem fazer. dizem que non he boa nem lhes pertéece. (i) Aquarta géeraçon he dos mouges que chamam girouagos. os quááes toda sua uida despendem andando por desvayradas prouincias 2 terras. 2 per tres tres ou quatro quatro dias som hospedados 2 recebídos por desvayradas cellas. sempre uagos 2 nunca stauíjs seruindo aos proprios deleytamentos 2 cobíjça 2 desejos da garganta. 2 estes tááes en todo 2 por todo .som peores .que os sarabaitas. (k) Da conuersaçom 2 uida muy mesquinha destes todos .melhor he calar que falar. (l) E por tanto leixadas todas estas géeraçoones. uenhamos apoér 2 .ordenar con áájuda de deus a uida da muy forte 2 nobre géeraçom dos monges cenobitaanos queuiuem nos mosteyros so Regla. 2 so abbade.

CAP. V. (Red) Qual deue de séér o Abbade.

(a) A(Black) quel que he digno 2 merecedor de séér abbade 2 regidor de mosteiro sempre deue séér nembrado que he dito 2 chamado abbade. quer dizer padre 2 onome de mayor conuen assaber dabbade 2 depadre. deue comprlir porfeytos 2 por obras. 2 reger ben 2. sagesmente 2 gouernar 2 ensinar.

(IV) Ro)

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CAP. V castigar. 2 reprehender os monges seus filhos con amor de padre 2 con discreçon. por que créémos que el no (sp. 4-5 litt.) mosteyro tén ologo 2 as uezes de ihesu christo que foy 2 he nosso mééstre 2 nosso padre. poR quanto o chamam por esse méésmo nome. por que ihesu christo he dito 2 chamado. segundo que diz oapostolo. (b) Recebestes spiritu de adouçon quer dizer de filhos adoutiuos. no qual spiritu chamamos 2 dizemos abbáde. padre. Epor tanto oabbáde non deue ensinar cousa nehuma nem stabelecer. nem ordenar nem mandar. contra os preceptos 2 mandamentos de deus .oque deus non mande. mas o seu mandamento 2 a sua doutrina seja fómento da iustiça de deus 2 do seu amor. spargido nos coraçoones 2 nas almas dos seus discipulos. (c) O abbade sempre seja renembrado. que no muy spantoso 2 temeroso dia do juyzo de deus lhe ha desséér demandado 2 requerido conto 2 Recado 2 Razon. tanben da sua doutrína. come da obediencia dos seus discipulos. (d) E saba por certo oabbade. que qualquer cousa de menos proueyto 2 de mingua 2. desfalecimento que deus padre estonce poder achar nas suas ouelhas. todo encostará 2 demandará ao pastór. (e) Peró entanto sera libre 2 sen culpa opastór se el fezer 2 poser toda diligencia 2 studo 2 for ben solicito 2 discreto sobre a sua grey 2. companha que for máá 2 desobedíente. 2 houu(er, add. s. XV) toda cura 2 cuydado. dos seus autos mááos 2 enfermos 2. enfermidades corporááes. 2 lhes der 2 ministrar todalas cousas necessarias peraos corpos 2 peráás almas. 2 estonce o seu pastór. libre. 2 assoluto 2 quíte de culpa. diga ao senhor no dia do juyzo. con opropheta. Senhor non neguey nem ascondý a tua iustiça no meu coraçon. mas a tua uerdade 2 a tua sahude. lhes dísse 2 pronunciey 2 demostrey. mas elles mááos. soberuos 2 desprezadores. desprezarom me 2 non curarom da minha doutrína 2 ensinança. (f) E estonce finalmente a essas ouelhas máás 2 desobedientes ael. seja lhes pena 2 tormento muy grande 2 muy forte. essa morte de perdiçon 2 condemnaçon. na qual cayron porla desobediencia.

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CAP. VI. (Red) Per q*ue* modo 2 maneyra deue o abbade ensinar os se*us* monges

(IV Vo.)

(a) Q (Black) uando alguu*m* recebe 2 toma encarrego 2 nome de abbade. p*or* duas maneyras deue ensinar os se*us* discipulos. conue*m* assaber. deue lhes demostrar. 2 ensinar todalas cousas boas 2 santas. mays p*or*feytos 2 p*or*obras. q*ue* p*or* palau*ra*s. assi q*ue* aos discipulos capazes 2 mays entendidos proponha 2 diga lhes p*or* palauras 2 préégue os mandame*n*tos de de*us*. mas ááq*ue*les q*ue* forem duros decoraçom 2 mays simplices 2 q*ue* mays pouco entendime*n*to ham. p*or* se*us* feytos 2 p*or* suas obras. lhes mostre os p*re*ceptos 2 mandamentos de de*us*. (b) E todas aq*ue*llas cousas q*ue* el ensinar aos se*us* discipulos q*ue* som contrarias 2. empéécíuíjs áás suas almas .en se*us* feytos p*ri*meyramente. 2 en suas obras. as demostre. q*ue* se. non deuedefaz*er:* ne*m* p*or* uentura el préégando aos outros seja achado 2. hauudo p*or* mááo préégador. 2 p*or* q*ue* no*m* diga de*us* en. alguu*m* tempo ael mááo 2 peccador. (c) Por q*ue* contas tu. 2 dizes as minhas iustiças. 2 tomas 2 préégas o meu testame*n*to p*or*la tua boca? Ca tu auorreceste 2 entejaste aminha disciplina 2 ensinança. 2. deytaste as mínhas palau*ra*s atras ty 2 no*n* curaste dellas. (d) E tu q*ue* uías o argueyro no olho de teu jrmaa*n*o. 2 no teu no*n* uíste atraue. (e) O abbade no*n* faça departime*n*to ne*m* estremame*n*to antre hu*m*a p*er*soa 2 outra no mosteíro: (f) Nen seja huu*m* mays obediente: Non seja mays auantejado ne*m* haja mayor logo ne*m* honra na ordem. olíure 2 de boa gééraço p*or* lo sangue nobre dehu ven. q*ue* o. seruo q*ue* se co*n*uerte 2 tíra da se*r*uidoome 2 entra na ordem p*ri*meyro q*ue* el. saluo se for por alguma causa q*ue* seja razoauil. (g) E esto méésmo se ao abbade parecer co*n*. Razo*n*. faça elaq*ua*lq*ue*r decada hu*m*a das ordee*m*s tam ben dos sace*r*dotes. come dos deeua*n*gelho 2 de ep*ist*ola. (h) En outra maneyra nehuu*m*. no*n* seja p*ro*mouido a mays alto grááo. mas cada huu*m* tenha seu logar. p*ro*p*ri*o. por q*ue*. assi se*r*uos como líures. todos somos hu*m*a cousa en ihesu chr*ist*o. 2 so huu*m* senhor.igual íugo 2 trabalho de se*r*uido*m* soppórtamos. ca ante de*us* no*n* ha hy recebime*n*to ne*m* departime*n*to de p*er*soas.

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CAP. VI (V Ro.)

(i) Tan sóómente en esto somos departidos 2. estramados ante el se formos achados melhores en boas obras 2. mays humildosos q*ue* os outros. (k) E por tanto o abbade haja caridade 2 amor atodos jgualmente. 2 hu*m*a disciplina. seja dada atodos segundo os se*us* merecim*en*tos.

CAP. VII. (Red) Que modo deue téér o abbade en castigaR. o se*us* discipulos.

(a) (Blue with inside red shading) O (Black) Abbade na sua doutrina 2 ensinança. semp*re* deue téér 2 guardar aq*ue*lla forma 2 maneyra do apostolo. na q*ue*l diz. (b) Repr*e*hende. Roga. doesta. conue*m* assaber. mesturando 2. ajuntando tempos a tempos. affáágos a espantos. Aás uezes oabbade mostre se aos discipulos mééstre crueuil 2 espantoso. 2 áás uezes padre piadoso. conue*m* assab*er*. os discipulos soberuosos 2 uagos 2 desobedientes 2 mal ensinados deue repr*e*hender 2 castigar aspera-m*en*te. 2 esposam*en*te. mas os obedientes 2 os humil-dosos 2. mansos 2 os pacientes. deue rogarq*ue* aproueyte*m* de ben en melhor. (d) E mandamos 2 amoestamos q*ue* o abbade doeste 2 castigue os negligentes 2 os desprezadores. (e) Ne*m* leixe hír ne*m* traspoér os peccados dos se*us* discipulos sen correyço*n* 2 sen castigo. mas logo como começare*m* denacer. porla guisa q*ue* el melhor poder. os talhe de Rayz. nebrando se do p*er*igóó de hel*y* sac*er*dote de syló. (f) E aq*ue*lles q*ue* forem mays honestos 2. demelhores entendim*en*tos amoeste os 2. castigue os p*or* palau*r*as a p*r*imeyra 2 asegu*n*da uez. (g) Mas os mááos 2 duros de coraço*m* 2 os sobre-uosos 2 os desobedientes en começo desse peccado. cor-rega 2 castigue p*or* açoutes ou p*or* outra correyço*m* corporal. sabendo aq*ue*lo q*ue* diz a scripta*r*a. (h) O sandeu no*n* se correge ne*m* castíga p*or* palauras. (i) E diz mays .Castiga 2 fire oteu filho co*n* auára 2 líurarás a sua alma da morte.

CAP. VIII. (Red) De quaaes ha dedar conto 2 razon ade*us* oabbade 2 por q*ue*

(a) O (Black) abbade semp*re* se deue (ras. 2 litt.) nem-brar 2 consíjrar q*ue* he abbade 2 padre 2 q*ue* assi he

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CAP. VIII dito 2 chamado de todolos outros q*ue* lhe som comendados. 2 deue de saber. q*ue*ááquel aq*ue* mays he cometido. mays lhe sera req*ue*rido 2. demandado. (b) Outro sy saba 2 consíjre q*u*am

(V Vo.)

forte 2 alta cousa recebéo. aq*u*al he reger almas 2 seruír aos custumes 2. uoontades demuytos. (c) E huums tractar 2 reger. 2 correger. por affáágos. 2 outros por doestos. 2 outros porrogos 2. conselhos 2. por amoestamentos. (d) E segundo aq*u*alidade 2. propriedade 2 condiçon 2 entendimento 2 conhecimento decada huum. assi se apparelhe oabbade 2 conforme atodos. ental guisa q*ue* non tansóómente el non padeça nem leixe passar. perda nem danno nem mingua da companha ael cometida. mas ajnda alegre se en no acrecentamento da boa companha. (e) Ante todalas cousas o abbade nem poruentura dissimulando 2 fazendo q*ue* non uéé as cousas. ou desprezando. 2. téendo enpouco a sahude. das almas ael cometidas. non haja nem faça móór. cura 2 cuydado das cousas transitorias 2. terreáães q*ue* ham desfalecer. q*ue* das almas dos seus subditos mas sempre cuyde 2 pense q*ue* recebéo encarrego 2. cuydado de Reger almas. das quáães ha de dar conto 2 razon. (f) E non murmúre nem se queréle por la sustancia 2 mantíjmento do mosteyro se for pouco. mas nembre se da q*ue*lo q*ue* he scripto. (g) Primeyramente querede 2. demandade o Reyno de deus 2 a sua. iustiça. 2 todas estas cousas. uos serám dadas 2 apresentadas. (h) E diz ajnda mays a iscriptura: Non desfalece nehuma cousa. ááq*ue*lles q*ue* temem 2 seruem a deus. (i) E saba oabbade. que aq*u*el q*ue* recebéo cura 2 cuydado per reger. almas. deue se apparelhar. 2 aguisar. pera dar conto 2 razon dellas. (k) E quanto conto de frayres el teuér so sua cura. conheça 2. saba por certo. q*ue* en no dia do juyzo. ha de dar conto 2 razon a deus. de todas essas almas. 2 sen duuída nehuma 2 da sua alma. (l) E assy sempre temendo 2. receando a demanda 2 enq*ue*riçon do pastór q*ue* ha desséér feyta das ouelhas ael cometidas. quando se el caufdar. 2 guardar. das Razoones alheas 2 trabalhar de dar boom conto 2 Razon dos feytos dos outros. estonce el será solicito 2 diligente pera caufdar 2 guardar das suas Razoones das q*u*ááes ha

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CAP. VIII dedar conto 2 recado. (m) E outro sy. quando el. os outros ben ensinar. 2 doutrinar. 2 amoestar que se enmendem. estonce será el por la boa ministraçom. (VI Ro)
emendado 2 quíte dos uícios 2 peccados.

CAP. IX. (Red) De como deuem séér chamados os frayres a conselho:
(a) S (Black) empre quando algumas cousas grandes se houuerem detrautar 2 fazer no mosteyro. chame oabbade toda acongregaçon .2 diga el. aquelo que quer trautar ou fazer. (b) E depoys que el ouuír o conselho dos frayres. traute 2 consíjre ben en seu coraçon. 2 aquello que el entender. 2 fulgar. 2 disser que he mays proueytoso. esso faça. (c) E por tanto dissemos que todos fossem chamados a conselho. por que por muytas uezes. demostra deus ao mays pequeno. aquello. que he melhor 2 mays proueytoso. (d) E os frayres assy dem o conselho con toda sogeyçon 2 humildade. que non presumam nem ousem teer 2 defender soberuosamente. aquello que aelles parecer melhor. 2 mays proueytoso. mas el penda 2 sté mays no aluidro 2. juyzo do abbade que deles. 2 todos obéédeçam. 2 consentam ááquello que el julgar 2 disser. que he mays proueytoso 2 mays saano. (e) Mas assi como conuem 2 pertéece aos discipulos obedéécer ao méestre. ben assi conuen 2 pertéece ael fazer 2 ordenar discretamente 2 iustamente todalas cousas. (f) Poys por esto. todos. conuen assaber os monges 2 oabbade sigam 2 guardem esta regla que nos amééstra 2 ensina. entodalas cousas 2. preceptos 2 mandamentos dela. 2 nehuum. non desvihe della neyciamente fazendo o contrayro della con prisumnçom ou desprezamento. (g) Nehuum no mosteyro non siga nem faça a voontade do seu proprio coraçom. nem seja ousado nehuum de contender ne hauer enteençom nem palauras soberuosamente con o seú abbade. dentro nem fora do mosteyro. (h) Aqual cousa se presumir 2 for ousado de a fazer. seja por ello sometido 2. posto ááisciplina da regla. (i) Peró esse abbade faça todalas cousas con temor de deus 2 guarda da santa regla. sabendo sen duuida nehuma que de todolos seus íuyzos ha dedar Razom adeus juyz muy fusto 2 dereyto. (k) Mas se algumas

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CAP. IX cousas pequenas se houuerem de fazer enprol do mosteyro. (Sp. 4 litt.) chame oabbade a conselho tansóómente os anciaanos. assi como he scripto. (l) Faze todalas cousas con conselho. 2 depoys
(VI Vo.)
que as fezeres non te rependerás.

CAP. X. (a) (Red) Quáães som os Jnstrumentos das boas obras.
P (Black) rimeyramente ante todalas cousas. amar deus de todo coraçom 2 de toda alma 2 con toda uirtude 2 forças della. depoys amar o seu proximo assi como. sy medés. (b) Desy non matár. non cometer adulterio. non fazer furto. non cobíjçar. non dizer falso testimunho. Honrar todolos homeens. 2 aquello que cada huum non queria que lhe. fezessem non o faça aoutrem. Negar cada huum sy méésmo. por tal que siga ihesu christo. (c) O seu corpo castigar. os manjares 2 deleytos delle non amar. O jeíuum amar. os proues recriar. o núú uestir. O enfermo visitar. omorto soterrar. (d) Aáqual que for entribulaçon acorrer. O doente consolar. Dos autos 2 feytos do mundo se arredar 2 delles se quítár. Non amar cousa nehuma mays que ihesu christo. (e) Ira non acabar. tempo de sanha 2 deuingança non aguardar nem attender. (f) Engano no coraçon non téér. Paz falso non dar. Caridade non leixar nem desemparár. Non furar. nem poruentura seja perfuro. (g) Uerdade decoraçon 2 deuoontade (2 eras.) porla boca dizer. Mal por mal. non fazer nem dar. Injuria anehuum non fazer. mas se lha fezerem. con paciencia a soffrer. (h) Os imíjgos amar. Non maldizer. os que o maldisserem 2. uituperarem. mas antes bendizer delles. (i) As jnfurias 2 perseguiçooens por amor de fustiça soffrer. 2 sopportár. (k) Non séér soberuoso. nem muyto bebedor deuinho ou de outra cousa que embebedar possa. Nem séér muyto comedor 2 gargantón. ne muyto dormidor 2. sonnorento. nem priguiçoso 2 deleixado 2 modorno. (l) Non murmurador 2 contradizedor dalguma cousa con máá uoontade 2 como non deue. Nem séér detraydor nem maldezidor denehuum por detras con máá entençon. (m) A sua sperança a deus cometer 2 todalas suas cousas en el póér. (n) Quando alguum ben

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ensy uír. 2 sentir. adeus odé 2 apponha 2 non assy méésmo. mas o mal. saba 2 seja certo que del uen 2 procede sempre. 2 a sy sóó .oponha. (o) Odiado juyzo temer.

(VII Ro)

2 do Jnferno logar defogo 2 de exuffre. 2 de penas perdurauíjs sempre se spantar 2 dello temor 2 pauor hauér. (p) A vida perdurauíl. con todo desejo 2 cobíjça spiritual desejar. (q) E amorte encadahuum dia ante os seus olhos sospeyta poér. 2 hauer. (r) Os autos 2 feytos 2 obras da sua uida. entoda hora guardar. sabendo por certo que en todo logár deus óólha 2 véé 2 esguarda os seusfeytos. (s) As suas cuydaçoones máás que uéérem ao seu coraçon. logo óólhando 2 esguardando ajhesu christo 2 dessy empuxando as. en el as quebrantar. 2 ao seu anciaano spiritual 2 confessor. as demostrar. (t) Asua boca demáá 2 de empéécíuil fala. guardar. (r) Muyto falar non amar. Palauras uaans ou autas 2 conuinhauíjs pera Ríjr. non falár. Ríjso muyto ou sacudido 2 desramado .non amar. (u) As liçoones santas. deboamente ouuír. (v) Aá oraçon amehude se achegar. Os seus peccados traspassados con lagrimas ou con gímidos cada dia en sua oraçon adeus confessar. (w) Desses peccados desy adeante se emendar. Os desejos da carne non acabar. (x) A sua uoontade propria. auorrecer 2 entejár. (y) Aos preceptos 2 encomendamentos do abbade entodalas cousas obedecer. ajnda que el doutra guisa faça 2 porlo contrayro desta regla uíua. oque deus non mande. nembrando 2 acordando se o discipulo daquele precepto 2 mandamento de nosso senhor ihesu christo. no qual diz. Aquellas cousas que uos elles dizem. fazede as. mas as que elles fazem. non as queyrades uos fazer Non querer nem desejar a séér. dito 2 chamado santo antes que oseja .mas primeyramente o séér. por tal que o seja dito mays uerdadeiramente. (z) Os priceptos 2 mandamentos de deus .porfeytos 2 por obras encadahuum dia complir. (aa) A castidade amar. Nehuum non auorrecer. con odio nem entejár. (bb) Zeo mááo 2 enVeja non hauer. contéénçon 2 porfia non amar. (cc) Aleuantamento de uaam gloria. 2 gabamentos fugir. (dd) Os uelhos 2 anciaanos honrar; os mancebos 2 os mays juniores amar. (ee) En no amor de i hesu christo. porlos

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CAP. X jmíjgos orar. (ff) Antes q*ue* se ponha osol co*n* aq*ue*lles co*n* q*ue* houuer. discordia. enpaz 2 en boo*m* amorío se poer 2 tornar. 2 da misericordia de d*eus* nunca deses— (VII Vo)

perár. (gg) Eys estes som os instrume*n*tos 2 mesteres da arte spiritual. co*n* q*ue*l auída spiritual he formada 2 fabricada 2 co*m*posta. (hh) Os q*uá*áes jnstrume*n*tos. se de nos. dedia 2 de noute continuadame*n*te pe*r*seuerando. forem complídos. 2 no dia de juyzo. assíjnados 2 demostrados. séér nos ha dada do nosso senhor d*eus*. aquella mercéé q*ue* nos el prometéo. (ii) A qual olho domem nunca vyo. ne*m* orelha ouvyo. ne*m* cora—çom domem pode pensar aq*ue*llas cousas q*ue* d*eus* ten apristes 2 apparelhadas pe*r*ááq*ue*lles q*ue* o amam. (jj) As offecínas 2 logares. hu todas estas cousas co*n* diligencia deueomos defaze*r* 2 obrar. som as claustras 2 ençarrame*n*tos dos mosteyros pe*r*seuerando 2 stando firmes na co*n*gregaçon:

CAP. XI. (Red) Da obediencia.

(a) (Blue with red dots) O (Black) primeyro grááo da humildade he obediencia sen detardança. (b) Aquesta conuen 2 pertééce ááq*ue* lles q*ue* no*n* amem nehu*m*a cousa mays q*ue* ihesu chri*st*o. (c) Estes. tanto q*ue* lhes po*r* lo seu mayor for encome*n*dada algu*m*a cousa. no*n* saben padece*r* ne*m* poer detardan*c*a en afaze*r*. mas assy obedéécem como se lhes a d*eus* mandasse fazer. (d) E esto. por lo se*r*uiço santo 2 uoto q*ue* prometeron. ou por medo das penas do fogo do jnferno. ou por amor. da gloria da uida pe*r*durauil. (e) Dos quááes diz o nosso senhor d*eus*. Como me ouuyo co*n* aorelha. logo sen detardança. me obedéécéo. (f) E diz ajnda mays aos mééstre*s* 2 doutores. (g) Aquel que uos ouue. mj*m* ouue. (h) E por esto estes tááes logo leixando 2 desamparando as suas cousas. 2 as suas pro*p*rias voo*n*tades. muyto asínha desoccupam 2 tiram suas mááos daq*ue*llo q*ue* fezeron leixando por acabar. 2 co*n* o péé uízinho da obedencia .obedéécem 2 seguem po*r* feytos 2 po*r* obras au comandame*n*to do seu mayor. 2 assi como enhuu*m* mome*n*to 2 espaço muy peq*ue*no. osobredito mandame*n*to do mééstre 2 as obras pe*r*feytas do discipulo. entri*n*gueza do timor. de d*eus* ambas estas causas jun-

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CAP. XI tamente asinha som feytas 2 complidas. (i) Aquelles que ham amor. 2 desejo de hír aauida perdurauil. pera esto escolhem 2 tomam caminho 2 carreyra muyto streyta. como o diz nosso senhor ihesu christo. (j) Streyta he acarreyra que aduz 2

(VIII Ro.)

trage o homem áá uida perdurauil. por que estes non querem uiuer porlo seu aluidro nem por seu talante nem querem obedéécer. aos seus desejos 2 deleytos 2 plazeres da sua carne. mas querem andar. por juyzo 2 mandamento alhéo. 2 uíuer 2 morar nos mosteyros 2 desejam háúuer. abbade sobre sy aque obedéécam. (k) Sen duuida nehuma. estes tááes seguem 2 complem. aquella sentencia do senhor. na qual diz: (l) Non víj a fazer aminha voontade. mas daquel que me envyou. mas aquesta méésma obediencia. estonce será acceptabil 2 recebida ante deus. 2 aprazíuil 2 dolce aos homeems. se aquello que he mandado 2 encomendado ao discipulo for feyto non con temor. nem tardinheyramente. nem negligentemente. nem con murmúro. nem con responson. de non querer. 2 sen referta. por que aobediencia que aos mayores he feyta. adeus he feyta. ca el disse: (m) Aquel que uos ouue. mjm ouue. (n) E por tanto conuen. 2 pertéece aos discipulos obedéécer con boo coraçon ledo. por que deus ama muyto oque o serue con plazer 2 alegría. (o) Ca se o discipulo obedéece con mááo coraçon 2 con uoontade triste. 2 non tansolamente porla boca. mas ajnda no coraçon se murmurár. posto que ja compla 2 faça omandado que lhe encomendarom. peró ja lhe non sera recebido de deus. oqual esguarda 2 ueem ocoraçon do murmuradór. (p) E por tal feyto 2 obediencia. non hauerá graça nehuma nem galardom. mas hauerá. pena dos murmuradores. se se non emendar. 2 satisfazer do peccado.

CAP. XII. (Red) Do silencio: . .

(a) F (Black) açamos aquello que diz o prophita. Disse eu. guardarey as minhas carreyras. que non peque na mínha lingua. (b) Puse guarda áá minha boca. fize me mudo 2 humildey. me 2 caley defalar. as boas cousas. (c) En estas palauras nos demostra oprophete. que se algumas uezes. por amor 2 guarda do silencio non deuemos

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CAP. XII defalár .nem dizer as boas cousas. quanto mays. deuemos de cessar 2 calar nos das máás palauras por la pena do peccado? (d) E por esto. aos discipulos perfeytos por graueza 2 peso por guarda do calaR. poucas uezes lhes seja outorgada lecen—

(VIII Vo.)

ça defalar. ajnda que queyram falar deboas cousas 2 santas 2 de edificaçon. por que scripto he. (e) En no muyto falar. non poderás fugir nem scapár. de peccado. (f) E en outro logar. diz a escriptura. Amorte 2 a uída stá nas mááos da lingua. conuem assaber no calar. 2 falár. das máás cousas 2 das boas. (g) Ca ao méestre sóó conuen 2 pertéece falar 2 ensinar. 2 ao discipulo ouuír 2 calar. (h) E porende se o discipulo quiser demandar 2 preguntar alguмas cousas. pregunte as 2 demande as. ao prior con toda humildade 2 sugeyçom de reuerença. (i) Lygeyrices 2 ioguetes 2. escarnhos. 2 palauras ociosas 2 que mouam a Rfjso. detodo entodo damnamos 2. antredizemos 2 defendemos sempre en todo logar 2 atal fala como esta. non leixamos nem damos logar ao discipulo abrir sua boca.

CAP. XIII. (Red) Da humildade.

(a) (Blue with red outline) I (Black) rmaanos a santa scriptura clama 2 brááda anos 2 diz nos. Todo aquel que se exalça. será humildado 2 abaixado. 2 aquel que se humilda 2 se ten pouco. será exalçado. (b) Poys quando esto diz a santa scriptura. demostra nos. que todo exalçamento. he gééraçom 2 maneyra de soberua. (c) Da qual gééraçom 2 maneyra de soberua. nos demostra opropheta que se cauidaua 2 guardaua. dízendo. (d) Senhor omeu coraçon non foy exalçado en soberua. nem os meus olhos. non foron soberuos nem aleuantados: (e) Nen andey presumíndo de mín nem pensando engrandes cousas. nem en cousas marauilhosas sobre mjn 2 sobre minhas forças: (f) Mas que senhor? Se eu non sentý nem andey humildosamente. mas exalcey aminha alma ensoberuecendo 2 tééndo me enmuyto 2. presumyndo de my grandes cousas. tal galardon 2. consolaçon des. tu ááminha alma senhor. qual sente 2. padece o menino que ajnda cria sua madre no collo. se lhe tira ateta do leyte ante do tempo. (g) Onde jrmaanos se. nos quere-

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CAP. XIII mos hauer 2 percalçar. áalteza da muy grande humildade. 2 queremos 2 desejamos vijnr. muyto asinha. ááquelhe exalçamento da gloria celestial. ááqual porlahumildade 2 abaixamento desta uida presente. podemos sobír (ras. 1 lt.) porén por nossos boos feytos 2 obras sobindo 2 aproueytando de ben em—

melhor (catchword)

Fol IX has been lost. (X Ro.)

CAP. XIV. (a) guma hora esguardde deus 2 nos ueja enclinados 2(sp. 44 mm.) 2 mááos feytos 2 sen proueyto. 2 perdoando nos (sp. 48 mm.) uida. por que elehe piadoso 2 mísericordioso. 2 att (sp. 50 mm.) mos 2. emendemos en melhor. diga nos depo (sp. 55 mm.). (b) Aquestas cousas 2 estes feytos fezeste tu. 2 (sp. 58 mm.)

CAP. XV. (a) (Red) O (Black) segundo graao da humildade he (sp. 58 mm.) se alguum nom querendo nem amand (sp. 60 mm.) non se deleyte nem queyra comprir os seus d(?) (sp. 62 mm.) obras sigam aquella uoz do nosso senhor (sp. 68 mm.) fazer aminha uoontade. mas auoontade (sp. 70 mm.) ajnda mays a escriptura. (b) A deleyta i (sp. 70 mm.) ha 2 merece pena pera. sempre. 2 anecessid (sp. 70 mm.) 2 da affliçom que h (sp. 106 mm.) lardon 2 coro (sp. 125 mm.)

CAP. XVI. (Blue) O (sp. 140 mm.) guíndo ihesu (sp. 128 mm.) atáá morte

CAP. XVII. (Red) Do (?) (sp. 102 mm.) (a) (Red) O (Black) quarto grááo da (sp. 100 mm.) dam fazer alguma co (sp. 100 mm.) tomar deboamen (sp. 102 mm.) cousas duras 2. as cont (sp. 100 mm.) quer que lhe forem feytas ou (sp. 105 mm.) do as. non enfraqueça nem se (sp. 92 mm.) diz a escriptura. (b) Aquel que perseuerar atáá (sp. 65 mm.) O teu coraçon seja confortado 2 forte. 2 per (sp. 65 mm.) (c) E querendo nos demostrar a santa scriptura. (sp. 56 mm.) depadecer 2. soffrer ajnda as cousas contrayras (sp. 48 mm.) nhor deus . (d) Diz en persoa daquelles que as padecem 2. so (sp. 42 mm.) amor senhor. grauemente somos afflitos 2 atormentad (sp. 35 mm.) dia .2 somos tááes como as ouelhas que leuam amatar (sp. 30 mm.)

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CAP. XVII (X Vo.)

(sp. 40 mm.) i nehuma cousa. (e) E estes ja seguros da sperança (sp. 48 mm.) seguem se. 2 dizem. (f) Mas en todas estas cou (sp. 49 mm.) s 2. uencemos 2 con paciencia soffremos. por amor (sp. 52 mm.) on. (g) E diz mays a escriptura en outro logaR. (sp. 54 mm.) oueste. 2 por fogo detribulaçoones. 2 de enjurias (sp. 56 mm.) ste. assy como aprata he examinada 2 pur-(sp. 60 mm.). (h) Etrouueste nos alaço 2 a estreyteza 2 (sp. 62 mm.) bre nos muytas tribulaçoones. (i) E pera nos (sp. 68 mm.) ufuer so poderío deprelado. seguese 2 (sp. 70 mm.) nossas cabecas. (h) Mas aquestes que pera (sp. 70 mm.) mandamento do senhor. ennas cousas (sp. 70 mm.) ribulaçoones. 2 affliçoones. (sp. 75 mm.) som sen (sp. 108 mm.) (6 litt. legi non possunt) apparam aoutra (sp. 125 mm.) ááquel que lhes (sp. 128 mm.) uam. per (sp. 130 mm.) ios (sp. 128 mm.) çoones. 2 ben (sp. 100 mm.)

CAP. XVIII. (Red) Do quinto grááo .d. h. (sp. 100 mm.) (a) (Black) odalas máás cuydaçoones (sp. 100 mm.) os peccados que el cometéo (sp. 102 mm.) a seu abbade por humilda-(sp. 103 mm.) selha a escriptura 2 diz (sp. 100 mm.) yra dos teus feytos 2 das (sp. 85 mm.) mays. (b) Confessade uos ao (sp. 62 mm.) 2 por que pera todo sempre he asua misericor-(sp. 10 mm.). (c) Senhor. eunotifiquey 2 demostrey a ty (sp. 52 mm.). (d) Mas maldades non te encobrý. (e) Propusi 2 (sp. 46 mm.) pronunciarey por confisson. contra (sp. 40 mm.) maldades ao senhor. 2 tu senhor logo que me per (sp. 32 mm.). perdoaste acrueza 2 maleza domeu coraçon.

CAP. XIX. (Red) Do sexto g. (sp. 30 mm.) (a) (Black) grááo da humildade he. se omonge for contento de to—

(XI Ro.)

da ufleza 2 baixeza 2 desprezamento. 2 pera todalas cousas que lhe forem encomendadas que faça. se julgar por mááo obréiro 2 non digno. dizendo con oprophéta. (b) Anehuma cousa som tornado. & non soom boom per fazer cousa nehuma como a deuo defazer. 2 non no entendy nem soube nem conhecy. 2 sóóm feyto. assi como besta sen entendimento ante ty. 2 eu sempre sóóm con tego non me partindo de ty.

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CAP. XX. (Red) Do septimo gráão da humildade. (Blue and red) (a) O (Black) septimo gráão da humildade he se omonge se demostrar mays vil 2 mays peq*ue*no &c. mays baixo detodos. 2 no*n* tan sóómente. p*or* la sua boca odize*r*. mas ajnda dentro na uoo*n*tade. do seu coraço*n* assy o téér 2 créér. humildando se 2 dizendo co*n* opro-phe*t*a. (b) Eu sóóm uerme. 2 non sóó homem. sóó*m* doesto dos homee*m*s 2 engeytame*n*to 2 auorrecime*n*to do pobóó. (c) E fuy exalçado en honra de soberua deste mundo. mas agora sóó*m* humildado 2 abaixado 2 mays peq*ue*no de todolos me*us* jrmaa*n*os. 2 co*n*fuso 2. enue*r*gonçado de todolos me*us* peccados. (d) E consolando se en esta humildade 2 abaixame*n*to. graças ade*us* dando. segue (se, add. inter lineas) 2 diz co*n* opro*p*phe*t*a. (e) Senhor. ben me he 2 grande ben me fezeste por q*ue* me humildaste. poR. tal q*ue* eu. aprendesse 2 soubesse os te*us* p*re*ceptos 2 mandame*n*tos.

CAP. XXI. (Red) Do outauo gráão da humildade. O (Black) ovtauo gráão da humildade he. q*ue* omonge no*n* faça p*or* seu aluidro outro modo 2 outra maneyra. de ufuer. saluo aq*ue*lla q*ue* a Regla do mosteyro co*m*muhu*m* manda 2. ten ordenada. ou aq*ue*lla q*ue* mostram os exemplos boo*m*s dos se*us* mayores.

CAP. XXII. (Red) Do nono gráão da humildade.
(Blue and red) (a) O (Black) nono gráão da humildade he. se omonge gardar 2 reteue*r* a sua língua do falar. 2 tee*n*do silencio no*n* fale atáá q*ue* opreguntem. mostrando nos 2 dizendo nos a escriptura. q*ue* no muyto falar. no*n* poderá home*m* fugir ne scupar de peccado. (b) E q*ue* ohomem língaz 2 de muyta palaura. no*n* será ben enderençado ne*m* ben guíado sobre ate*r*ra nas muytas palauras.

CAP. XXIII. (Red) Do decimo *graao*.
(a) O (Black) decimo gráão da humildade he. se o monge se no*n* mouer de ligeyro co*n* leuidade a Rijr. nem for appronto 2 ap*r*estes nen attento en seu Rijso. por q*ue* scripto he. (b) Osandeu en 2 en scarnhos exalça 2 leuanta a sua uoz.

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CAP XXIV. (Red) Do undecimo gráão da humildade.
(XI Vo.)
(a) (Blue) O (Black) vndecimo gráão da humildade he. que quando omonge houuer de falar. fale dolcemente. 2 gratiosamente 2 appasso 2 sen-Ríjso. humildosamente. 2 con graueza 2 peso 2 poucas palauras 2. Razoauíjs 2 ben asseentadas. (b) E non seja muyto bráádor de uoz. ca scripto he. (c) O sabedor en poucas palauras se demostra.

CAP XXV. (Red) Do duodecimo graao da humildade.
(In the left hand margin a different hand has added the following note on this section, partly cut off by the binder's knife:
(a) os xii. graaos da
yldade. se podem
arar. em. estos
e. s. Despreçar
do. Despreçar
si. meesmo. (b) Hom
preçar nem huum
zerlhe de seer de-
i despreçado. (c) Drinc (?)
as obras quiser.
er. podera assy
i em esta uida
myldoso. por que sefa
çado muy muyto
jo ceeo. (d) martímpez
o. lxiiij .iij fim
terceira parte deseu
(e) (Red) O (Black) duodecimo gráão da humildade he. que omonge non tansóómente con ocoraçon 2 con auoontade mas ajnda con o corpo nas obras de fora. mostre sempre ááqueles que o virem. que ha en sy humildade. conuem assaber. na obra. no oratorio. no ministerio 2 no seruiço. na orta. na carreyra. no agro. 2 en qualquer logar que seuer ou andar ou steuér sempre seja con a cabeça jnclinada 2 con os olhos ficados en terra. hauendo 2 téendo se en toda hora por Rééo 2 culpado dos seus peccados. (f) E pense 2 cuyde que ja he presentado no muy spantoso 2 temeroso juyzo

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CAP. XXV de deus. dizendo sempre aquello que aquel publicano do euangelho. con os olhos ficados en terra. disse Senhor. eu peccador 2 máão. non sóóm digno leuantar os meus olhos ao cééo. (g) E diga ajnda con. opropheta. (h) Encuruado soom. 2 abaixado 2 humildado sóóm decada parte. (i) Por tanto depoys que omonge sobír por todos estos sobreditos doze gráãos da humildade. logo muyto asinha víjnra ááquella caridade de deus. a qual perfeyta. lança fora todo temor. pella qual todalas cousas. que primeyramente fazia 2 guardaua con temor. estonce. sen trabalho nehuum. 2 sen temor começara de guardar 2 fazer por lo boom costume que houue. assy como se ja ohouuesse de sua naturaleza propria. non ja por temor das penas do jnferno. mas por amor de ihesu christo .2 por esse boom costume 2 boom usu que husou. 2 por deleytaçon 2 amor 2 desejo das uirtudes. (k) As quáães cousas nosso senhor. deus téera por ben demostrar. no seu obreyro 2 seruidor ja limpo porlo spiritu santo 2 purgado dos uicios 2 peccados.

CAP. XXVI. (Red) A que tempo. se ham de leuantar os monges áás horas de deus .que se ham de dizer de noute.

(a) (Blue) N (Black) o tempo do jnuerno. conuem assaber des as calendas de nouembro atáá pascoa. segundo boa con–

(XII Ro.)

síjraçon de Razon 2 dedescriçon. (sp. 2 litt.) áás oyto horas da noute se leuantem os monges aas uigilias. assi que pouco mays da mea noute dormam. 2 feyta ja a sua digestón. conuen assaber os seus corpos 2 os seus stamagos ja pousados (re, add. supra man. s. XV) 2 assééntados. aleuantem se áás uigilias. (b) E o spaço que fica aos frayres depoys das uigilias. seja por ááquelles frayres que houuerem mester. de léér ou pensar 2 meditar alguma cousa de salteyro ou deliçoones. (c) Mas dela pascoa atáá sobreditas calendas de nouembro. assy tempérem 2 tangam ahora en que se possam dizer as uigilias da noute. que fique huum muy pequeno entreuallo 2 spaço antre as uigilias 2 os laudes. en quanto os frayres possam fR áás necessarias da natura. 2 logo se sigam os laudes. (d) Os quáães se deuem de dizer quando começar amanhéécer.

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CAP. XXVII. (Red) Quantos salmos se deuem a dizer nas horas da noute.

(a) N (Black) o tempo do jnuerno áás uigilias dito ja primeyramente o uerso Deus inadiutorium meum intende. domine ad adiuuandum me festína (b) E depoys Domine labia mea aperies: 2 os meum annunciabit laudem tuam. (c) O qual dito por tres uezes ajuntem logo 2 digam. o terceyro psalmo con gloria patri. conuen assaber. (d) Domine quid multiplicati sunt. (e) E de poys deste. ononagesimo quarto salmo. que he Uenite exultemus domino. con antiphaan. ou certamente digam no cantado chaanmente sen antiphaan se tal tempo for. (f) Desy. siga se ohymno ambrosiano. (g) Depoys. sigamse sex salmos con antiphaans. Os quááes ditos. 2 ouersete dito. dé oabbade a beençon. ááquel. que houuer de dizer aliçon. 2 depoys que se todos asseentarem nos scannos 2 séédas. leam os frayres. hora huums. hora outros. tres liçoones porlo líuro sobre olitaril. (h) Antre as quááes sejam cantados tres responsos. Mas aquel que cantar o responso depoys de terceyra liçon. diga Gloria patri. (i) Equando o começar adizer. oque canta. todos logo muyto asinha se aleuantem de suas séédas por honra 2 reuerença da santa trínjndade. (k) Nas uigilias dos nouturnos. sejam leudos os liuros. assi do testamento uelho. como do testamento nouo. 2 sejam ajnda leudas as exposiçoones deles. as quááes foron feytas por los santos padres catolicos 2 fiées. 2 muy nomeados doutores.

(XII Vo.)

(l) E depoys destas tres liçooes con seus Responsos. sigam se outros sex salmos cantados con alleluya. (m) Depoys destes. digam aliçon do apostolo decór 2 ouersete 2 a supplicaçon da ladaínha. conuen assaber. Okyrieleyson. 2 assy sejam acabadas 2. assíjndas as uigilias das noutes.

CAP. XXVIII. (Red) Como se deuem adizer as uigilias das noutes no tempo do estío (a) (Blue) D (Black) es a pascoa atáá as calendas denouembro áás uigilias seja teuda toda aquantidade dos salmos. pella guisa 2 maneyra que suso ja he dito. saluo que as liçoones porlo liuro non sejam ditas por las noutes que som breues 2 pequenas.

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CAP. XXVIII mas por essas tres liçoones. seja dita huma liçon do testamento uelho de cór. (b) E depoys dela. huum Responso breue. 2 todalas outras cousas sejam complidas porla guisa que dito he das uigilias. conuen assaber. que nunca áás uigilias das noutes. sejam ditos menos da quantidade de doze salmos. tirados oterceyro salmo 2 ononagesimo quarto. os quááes som. (c) Domine quid multiplicati sunt .2 Venite exultemus domino.

CAP. XXIX. (Red) PER que maneyra se ham de dizer as uigilias no dia do domingo.˙. (a) N (Black) o dia do domingo. mays cedo se aleuantem os monges áás uigilias que ennos outros dias (b) Nas quááes uigilias seja teuda. amensura 2 quantidade dos salmos. assi como de suso sposemos 2 dissemos. conuen assaber. o sex salmos cantados 2 ditos 2 o uersete. enton assééntem .se. todos nas suas séédas ordenadamente 2 por ordem. 2 leam porlo liuro quatro liçoones. con seus responsos. porlla guisa que acíma dissemos. (c) E oque en esto nouturno cantar oquarto responso. diga con el. a Gloria patri. (d) Aquel quando a começar. logo todos se aleuantem con reuerencia. (e) Depoys das quááes liçoones. digam por ordem outros sex salmos con antiphaans. assi como os primeyros 2 o uersete. (f) De pos dos quááes salmos leam con decabo outras quatro liçoones. con seus responsos porlo modo 2 ordem que acíma dissemos. (g) E depoys destas quatro liçoones. sejam ajnda ditas tres canticas dos prophetas. quááes oababde stabelecer 2 mandar. (h) As quááes canticas. con alleluya sejam cantadas. (i) E dito o uersete. 2 depoys que o abba-

(XIII Ro.)

de. deR. abbeençon. sejam leudas outras quatro liçoones do testamento nouo. peraquel modo 2 maneyra das outras suso ditas. (k) E depoys do quarto responso. comece o abbade ohymno. Te deum laudamus. (l) O qual acabado. lea o abbade aliçon do euangelho stando todos con honra 2 con tremór leuantados. A qual acabada. todos respondam. A mé N. (m) E após esto. diga logo oabbade ohymno. Te decet laus. (n) E dada abeençon. começem se os laudes. (o) Aqual ordem das uigilias. jgualmente se tenha 2 guarde no dia do domingo. en todo tempo .assi do ueraano como

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CAP. XXIX do jnuerno. saluo per uentura. se se leuantarem mays tarde do que sooe oque deus non mande. 2 por esto abreuiarem alguma cousa das liçoones ou dos responsos. (p) Daqual cousa. emperó. se deuem decauidar 2 guardar. que non aconteça. (g) E se acontecer. estontem aquel por cuja culpa 2 negligencia uéér. dignamente satisfaça adeus no oratorio.

CAP. XXX. (Red) Per que guisa se ham de dizer os laudes no dia do domingo.
(a) (Blue) N (Black) o dia do domingo aos laudes. digam logo primeyramente osexagesimo sexto salmo. conuem assaber. Deus misereatur nostri. sen antiphaan cháámente. (b) E depoys deste digam oquinquagesimo. conuem assaber. o Miserere mei deus. con alleluya. (c) Depos oqual sejam ditos. o centesimo septimo decimo salmo. 2 o sexsagesimo segundo. que som. Confitemini domino . 2 Deus deus meus. (d) E depoys as béénçoones 2 os louuores. quer dizer. Benedicite omnia opera dominí domino. 2 Laudate dominum decelis. E huma liçon do apocalypsi de cór. (e) E o Responsete. (f) E o hymno ambrosiano. (g) E o uersete. (h) E o cántico do do euangelho. conuem assaber. o. Benedictus dominus deus israel. 2 aladaynha. 2 assy sejam acabados.

CAP. XXXI. (Red) Como 2 en que maneyra sejam ditos os laudes nos dias priuados. (a) E (Black) n nos dias priuados asolennidade dos laudes assi seja feyta. conuem assaber. o sexsagesimo sexto salmo. seja dito sen antiphaan spaçiosamente huum pouco. assi como no do domingo. por tal que todos occorram 2 cheguem ao quinquagesimo. oqual seja dito con antiphaan. (b) E depoys deste sejam ditos outros dous salmos. segundo he de costume. conuem assaber. Aá segunda feyra. oquinto 2 otricesimo quinto. scilicet. (c) Uerba mea. 2 (Underscored in red)
(XIII Vo.)
dixit iniustus. (d) E (Black) áá terça feria. oquadragesimo segundo 2 o quinquagesimo sexto. (Underscoring in red) scilicet Iudica medeus. 2 Miserere mei deus miserere mei. (Black) (e) E áá quarta feria. osexsagesimo tercio 2 o sexsagesimo quarto. scilicet Exaudi deus ora—

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CAP. XXXI *tio*nem meam cum. dépr*e*cor. 2 Te decet hymn*us* d*eus*. (f) E áá q*ui*nta feria .o outogesimo septimo 2 o outogesimo nono. scilicèt. Domine d*eus* salutis méé. 2. D*omi*ne refugium. (g) (Red) ¶

(Black) E áá sexta feria. oseptuagesimo q*ui*nto. 2 ononagesimo p*ri*mo. scilicet. Notus in iudéa d*eus*. 2 Bonum est confitéri d*omi*no. (h) Mas ao sabbado. ocentesimo quadragesimo segundo. scilicet. Domine exaudi or*ati*onem meam. 2 o cantico. deut*e*ronomíj. scilicet. Audite celi que loquor. oq*ua*l seja partido en en duas glorias. (i) En cada huu*m* dos outros dias. seja dito huu*m* cantico dos p*ro*phetas. cada huu*m* en seu dia assi como canta a santa egreja deRoma. (k) Depoys desto todo. siga*m* se os louuores. scilicet. Laudate d*omin*um de celis. desy hu*m*a liç*on* do apostolo. rezada decór. 2 oresponsete 2 o ambrosiano. oq*uer* dizer o hymno. 2 o v*er*sete. 2 o cantico do euangelho. 2 aladainha. 2 assi se acabem. (l) Esemp*re* na fin dos laudes 2 da uespera. a oraçon domínica. co*n*uem assaber. o pat*er* nost*er*. seja dita dopr*i*or. altam*en*te. enguisa q*ue* o ouçam todos. 2 esto por las spinhas 2 mouim*en*tos dos scandalos. q*ue* soo*em*. de nac*er* por tal q*ue* todos uencidos 2 q*ue*brantados por lo p*ro*rometim*en*to dessa oraç*on*. na qual dizem. (m) Senhor perdoa anos as nossos dúuidas. assi como nos p*er*doamos aos nossos deudores. q*uer* diz*er* p*er*doa nos. os nossos desfalecim*en*tos 2 errores. assi como nos p*er*doamos aos q*ue* nos erraron. ouuindo esto. todos se alímpem 2 quitem deste peccado. (n) Mas entodalas outras horas. apostumeyra parte dessa oraç*on*. seja dita alta tansoomente q*ue* todos Respondam. Sed libera nos amalo.

CAP. XXXII. (Red) Como 2 en q*ue* maneyra. se ham dedizer as uígilias nas festas dos santos. (a) E (Black) N nas festas dos santos de doze. liçoo*n*es 2 en todalas solennidades deles assi como dissemos q*ue* se fizesse no dia do domingo. assi seja feyto 2 co*m*plido. en ellas. tirado q*ue* os salmos 2 as antiphaa*n*s 2 as liçoo*n*es q*ue* aesse dia (XIV Ro.)

p*er*téécerem. seja*m* ditos. (b) Mas porém omodo 2 maneyra suso scripta do dia do domi*n*go. seja teuda 2 guardada.

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CAP. XXXIII. (Red) En quáães tempos ham de dedizer. alleluya. (a) D (Black) es a santa pascoa atáá opentecoste. continuadamente seja dita alleluya. assi nos salmos come nos Responsos. (b) Mas des opentecoste atáá ocomeço da coréésma. entodalas noutes. con os sex salmos postumeyros tansóómente seja dita aalleluya aos nouturnos dos dias priuados. (c) Outro sy. entodolos domingos afora os da coréésma. as canticas. 2 os laudes. 2 aprima. 2 a terça. 2 a sexta 2 anoa. con alleluya sejam ditas. (d) Mas auespera. con antiphaan. (e) Os Responsos non sejam ditos con alleluya saluo des apascoa atáá opentecoste.

CAP. XXXIV. (Red) Como se ham de dizer as horas de deus. de dia. (a) (Blue) A (Black) ssi como diz opropheta. Senhor sete uezes no dia disse. 2 dey louuor. atý. (b) Oqual numero 2 conto de sete sagrado 2 perfeyto. de nos assí será complido. se en no tempo 2 hora dos laudes. 2 da prima 2 da terça 2 da sexta 2 da noa 2 da uespera 2 da completa. pagarmos os officios da nossa seruidoome, por que destas horas. diz opropheta. (c) Sete uezes te louuey no dia. E áás uigilias de noute. esse medes propheta diz. Aá meatade da noute me leuantaua a confessar. 2 dar louuor. aty. (d) Poys por esto. en estes tempos demos louuores ao nosso creador. sobre os juyzos da sua iustiça. conuen assaber. nos laudes. na prima. na terça. na sexta. na noa. na uespera. na completa. 2 de noute nos leuantemos a confessar 2 dar louuores ael.

CAP. XXXV. (Red) Quantos salmos se ham de dizer por essas méésmas horas de dia. (a) J (Black) a dos nouturnos 2 dos laudes ben departimos 2 sposemos 2 declaramos aordem dos salmos. Agora uejamos das outras horas seguíntes. (b) Na hora da prima. digam tres salmos. cada huum porsy con sua gloria. (c) E o hymno dessa méésma hora. depoys que ja disserem ouerso. Deus inadiutorium meum intende. ante que comecem os salmos. acabados os tres salmos. digam huma liçon. 2 o versete. 2 o kyrieleyson. 2 assi sejam enuiadas. (d) E a terça 2 a sexta 2 anoa. por esta medes ordem 2 maneyra. (XIV Vo.)

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CAP. XXXV sejam celebradas 2 ditas. conuen assaber. o uerso. Deus in adiutorium meum intende. 2 os hymnos dessas medeses horas. 2 tres salmos 2 aliçon 2 o versete 2 okrieleyson. 2 assy sejam enuíadas 2 affíjndas. (e) E se a congregaçon for grande. sejam cantadas as horas con antiphaans. mas se for pequena. rezem nas cháámente se lhes for muyto graue de as cantar. (f) Mas ahora da uespera. seja terminhada 2 dita con quatro salmos con suas antiphaans: (g) De pos dos quááes salmos. digam o capitulo. Desy. o Responso. 2 o hymno ambrosiano. 2 o versete 2 ocantico do euangelho. 2 aladaynha 2 aoraçon do senhor. 2 assi sejam enviadas a deus 2 del recebidas. (h) A completa seja dita 2 terminhada. con tres salmos. (i) Os quááes salmos. dereytamente chaanos sen antiphaans sejam ditos. (j) Depoys dos quááes. digam ohymno dessa méésma hora 2 o capitulo. 2 o verso 2 okyrieleyson 2 a béénçon. 2 assy sejam enuiadas

CAP. XXXVI. (Red) Do repartimento dos salmos en sete uigilias (a) (Blue) O (Black) rdenada 2 declarada aordem 2 maneyra dos salmos dedia. todolos outros salmos que sobejam 2 ficam. jgualmente sejam Repartidos en sete uigilias das noutes. conuem assaber. partindo aquelles salmos que antre elles forem móóres. 2 acada huma noute assijnem 2 dem doze salmos. (b) E esto specialmente dizemos 2 amoestamos. que se per uentura áálguum desprouguér aqueste repartimento 2 ordenaçon dos salmos. ordéne os el doutra guisa se o melhor entendér. con tanto que de todo entodo essa méésma cousa seja óólhada. conuem assaber. que encada huma domáá. seja cantado todo o salteyro enteyramente. no qual som por conto. cento 2 cíncoenta salmos. (c) E sempre no dia do domingo áás uigilias. seja repetido de começo. por que. seruiço demuyta priguiça 2 de pouca deuoçon demostram os monges que menos do salteyro con seus canticos acustumados rezam por spaço decada huma somana. por que nos léémos 2 achamos nas scripturas. que os nossos santos padres en cada huum dia muy nobremente o Rezauam todo complido. (d) Oqual. plaze adeus. que nos outros tibos 2 priguiçosos acabemos por toda asomana

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CAP. XXXVII. (Red) Como 2 enq*ue*maneyra deue*m* os monges léér 2 cantar 2 rezar. (a) N (Black) os créémos q*ue* ap*re*sença de d*eu*s. he entodo logar. 2 q*ue* os olhos do nosso senhor d*eu*s. en todo logar esguarda*m* 2
(XV Ro.)
uéé*m* os boo*m*s 2 os mááos. 2 móórmente esto creamos sen duuida nehu*m*a. q*ue* he q*u*ando nos stamos áá obra do senhor rezando 2 canta*n*do. (b) E por. tanto semp*re* sejamos nembrados. daq*ue*llo q*ue* diz op*r*ophe*t*a. Seruide ao senhor entemor. (c) Ediz ajnda. Cantade cordame*n*te 2 sagesmente. (d) E enna presença dos anjos cantarey aty. (e) Poys consíjremos ben. como nos conuén 2 pertééce de estár na p*re*sença de d*eu*s 2 dos anjos. 2 assi stemos acantar 2 a Rezar q*ue* anossa mente 2 p*ro*fundeza 2 agudeza do nosso entendime*n*to concorde co*n* anossa uoz.

CAP. XXXVIII. (Red) De como deuemos orar co*n*muyta reue*r*ença 2 humildade
(a) (Blue) S (Black) e co*n* os homee*m*s poderosos 2 grandes senhores queremos falar. algu*m*as cousas. no*n* ousamos ne*m* presumimos de lhes falar. saluar co*n* muyta humildade 2 reue*r*ença. q*u*anto mays. ade*u*s senhor. de todalas cousas deuemos de supplicar 2 rogar co*n* toda humildade de dentro o de fora. 2 co*n* deuoçón pura 2 limpa. (b) E no*n* en muyta palau*r*a. mas enpureza. 2 limpeza decoraço*n*. 2 en compun̄çon 2 pungime*n*to de lagrimas. sejamos certos q*ue* seremos ouuidos ante d*eu*s. (c) E por tanto breue 2 pequena 2 pura deue de séér aoraço*n*. saluo p*e*ll*a* ue*n*tura. se con desejo 2 deleytame*n*to de spiraço*n* da graça de d*eu*s. alguu*m* ap*er*longar: (d) Peró en conuento detodo entodo. a oraço*n* seja breue 2 pequena. 2 como op*r*ior fez*er* o sinal. todos se aleuantem da oraçon.

CAP. XXXIX. (Red) Dos dayaa*n*es 2 curadores 2 mééstres dos da congregaço*n* do mosteyro:.. (a) S (Blue) e acog*re*gaçon for grande sejam enligidos 2 escolheytos. alguu*m*s frayres de bóóm testimunho 2 de santa con*u*ersaço*n* 2 deboa uida. 2 façam nos dayaa*n*es 2 mééstres 2 p*r*iores doutros. q*ue* hajam 2 tenham. so sua cura. dez. dez. monges. ou mays. (b) Os quááes dayaa*n*es

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CAP. XXXIX 2 méestres 2 priores hajam gran cuidado sobre as suas decanías 2 curas entodalas cousas. segundo os preceptos 2 mandamentos de deus. 2 segundo os mandamentos de seu abbade. (c) E taaes dayaanes sejam enligidos 2 escolheytos. con os quááes oabbade seguramente parta seus encarregos. (d) E non sejam enligidos por ordem dos grááos mas segundo o merecimento dasua uída 2 segundo adoutrina 2 ensinança da sua sabedoria. (e) E se alguum delles

(XV Vo.)

depoys per uentura. jnflado 2 aleuantado por alguma soberua. for. achado reprehensiuil. seja castigado por huma uez 2 duas 2 tres. (f) E se se non quiser emendar seja tirado 2 alançado fora dessa cura. 2 encarrego. 2 outro que seja digno 2 merecedor. soceda 2 seja posto en seu logo. (g) Estas medeses cousas stabelecemos 2 ordenamos do preposto 2 prior móór da congregaçon.

CAP. XL. (Red) Como deuem de dormir os monges.

(a) (Blue) C (Black) ada huum monge dorma en seu leyto. (b) Os leytos 2 os logares enque houuerem de dormir os monges. receban nos 2 sejam lhes dados segundo omodo 2 qualidade da conuersaçon 2 uida de cada huum. assi como lhes oseu abbade ordenar 2 mandar. (c) E se se pode fazer. todos dormam en huma casa. pero seforem tantos que non possam todos dormir enhuum dormitorio. estonce dormam en outros logares. dez 2 dez. ou víjnte 2 víjte con uelhos 2 anciaanos booms. que sobre elles sejam solicitos 2. discretos 2 perfeytos peraos uigiar. (d) En essa cella 2 casa hu dormirem. seja sempre candéa accesa 2 arça des anoute atáá manhaan. (e) Uestidos dormam 2 cintos con cintas ou con cordas pequenas 2 delgadas 2 non tenham os cutellos con sigo nas cintas quando dormirem. nem peruentura. endormindo se feyram. (f) E per tal que os monges sempre sejam aprestes. como tangerem osigno leuantemse logo sen detardança. 2 trabalhem se cada huums. quem mays asinha poder. pera vijnr áá obra de deus. peró esto con toda graueza. 2 peso. 2 temperança. (g) Os frayres mays mancebos. non tenham os leytos juntos. huums con os outros. (marginal additoin by a diff. hand: mas) mesturados con os uelhos 2 anciaanos. 2 quando se

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CAP. XL leuantarem perää obra dedeus. honestamente 2 temperadamente se espertem huums os outros. por tal que nehuum non se escuse por somno.

CAP. XLI. (Red) Como 2 quando se deue poer a escomu-nhon 2 por quaaes culpas.
(a) S (Black) e alguum frayre. for achado reuel. 2 contumaz. 2 porfioso. ou desobediente ou soberuoso. ou murmurador. ou en alguma cousa contrayro áá santa regla. 2 desprezador. dos mandamentos dos seus anciaanos. (b) Este tal seja amoestado de seus anciaanos en segredo. segundo oprecepto 2 mandado de nosso senhor. (XVI Ro.)
ihesu christo atáá duas uezes. (c) E se se non emendar. seja reprehendido publicamente perdante todos. (d) E se per esta guisa. ajnda non se quiser correger. 2 emendar. 2 for tal que conheça 2 entenda que cousa. he apena. (da, add. marg.) scomunhon. escomunguem no. (e) Mas se ajnda assy for máão 2 duro ponham no áá uingança corporal. 2 seja castigado no corpo con feridas.

CAP. XLII. (Red) Qual deue desseer omodo da escomunhon.
(a) S (Black) egundo que foR (Red corr.: o modo) 2 qualidade. 2 quantidade da culpa 2 do peccado. assy deue de séér estendida 2 dada amensura 2 quantidade da escomunhon. ou da disciplina corporal. (b) Oqual modo 2 maneyra da (————————) quantidade das culpas penda. 2 sté en juyzo 2 áluidro do abbade. (c) Peró se alguum frayre for achado nas mays leues 2 mays lygeyras culpas conuen assaber. naquellas que oabbade fulgar. segundo seu juyzo por mays leues. este tal seja priuado 2 apartado. do participamento da mesa. que non coma con os outros. (d) E esta seró a Razon 2 causa razoauil daquel que for priuado 2 apartado da companhia dameza. conuen assaber. que el na egreja non aleuante salmo nem antiphaan. nem diga liçon. atáá que satisfaça 2 acabe sua penitencia. (e) E depoys que os frayres comerem coma el só6. Verbi gracia. que se os frayres comerem hora de sexta. coma aquel frayre hora de noa. (f) E se os frayres comerem hora de noa. coma el depoys de uespera. atáá que por satisfaçon. 2 penitencia conuínhauil .seja perdoado.

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CAP. XLIII. (Red) Das graues culpas.

(a) (Blue) A (Black) quel frayre q*ue* for achado en alguu*m* peccado. de graue culpa, seja sospenso 2 apartado. da mesa 2 do oratorio. (b) Nehuu*m* dos frayres no*n* se achegue ael. enhu*m*a maneyra de companhia ne*m* enfala. sóó seja áá obra q*ue* lhe mandarem faze*r*. stando 2 pe*r*seuerando en lutu 2 choro depenite*n*cia. pensando en seu coraço*n* 2 sabendo aq*ue*lla muy spantosa sentençi do apostolo q*ue* diz.: (c) Dado he este homem a sathanás por q*ue*brantamento da carne. por tal q*ue* oseu spiritu seja saluo no dia do nosso senhor ihesu chri*st*o. (d) Sóó coma .amensura 2 q*u*antidade do comer do seu mantíjmento. 2 a hora aq*ue* houue*r* de comer seja en aluidro 2 ju—

(XVI Vo.)

yz (o, supra) 2. discricon do abbade como el melhor entender 2 vir q*ue* lhe co*m*ple. (e) Nehuu*m* no*n* obeenza. q*ue*r dize*r*. no*n* lhe diga benedicite ne*m* lhe jnclíne. q*u*ando passar po*r*hu el steue*r*. nen lhe fale. nem lhe béénza oq*ue* lhe derem pe*r*ácomer.

CAP. XLIV. (Red) Daq*ue*lles q*ue* se ajuntam a conuersar. 2 a falar. con os. escomungados sen mandado.

(Blue) S (Black) e alguu*m* frayre pr*e*sumir 2 ousar de se achegar ao frayre escomungado pe*r* qualq*ue*r maneyra q*ue* seja. ou falar con el ou lhe enufar po*r* outre*m* alguu*m* mandado. sen lecença de seu abbade. seja escomungado semelhauilmente como el.

CAP. XLV. (Red) Como 2 en q*ue* maneyra o abbade deue séér solicito 2 studioso sobre os frayres escomungados.

(a) O (Black) abbade haja cura 2 cuydado co*n* todo studo 2 diligencia sobre os frayres q*ue* peccarem. ca os saa*n*os no*n* ham mest*e*r fisico. mas os doentes 2 enfermos 2 os q*ue* se sentem mal. (b) E porende oabbade deue deusar de todolos modos 2 maneyras. assi como sabedor fisico conuen assaber. deue enviar. frayres anciaa*n*os 2 sabedores 2 consoladores assi como caladame*n*te 2 ascondidamente. (c) Os quááes assi como segredame*n*te. ben como q*ue* no*n* ueem ael daparte doabbade. mas desy medeses. consolem aq*ue*lle frayre abalado 2 afflito 2 anojado. 2 enduzam no 2 mouam no. a satisfaçon

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CAP. XLV dehumildade. 2 consolem no. nem per uentura seja derribado 2 quebrantado por mayoR tristeza. mas assi como (diz with caret) esse méésmo. apostolo. (d) Seja confirmada en el caridade. 2 todos orem 2 roguem adeus por el. Con grande studo 2 diligencia deue oabbade hauer cuydado. 2 con toda arteyrice 2 engenho 2 sabedoria 2 prouidencia curar 2 trabalhar, que non perca nehuma das ouelhas que lhe foron cometidas. (e) Conheça 2 saba ben que recebéo cura 2 cuydado de almas enfermas. 2 non de usar crualdade 2 aspereza desenhorio sobre as saans. (f) E tema o ameaçamento do propheta. porlo qual diz deus os pastores. (g) Aquello que uos viades grosso 2 boom. tomauades. 2 aquello que era fraco 2 enfermo engeytauades 2 alançauades deuos 2 desemparauades (h) Mas siga oabbade 2 tome oexemplo depiedade deboom pastor. que leixou nos montes nouuenta 2 noue ouelhas. 2 foy buscar 2 requerer. huma ouelha que errara 2 perdera se das outras. (i) Aá jnfermidade da qual tanta dóór 2 compuxon houue que teue por ben de apoer nos seus santos ombros

(Catchword) 2 assy

(XVII Ro.)

2 assy a trouue áágrey 2 companhia das outras.

CAP. XLVI. (Red) Daquelles que amehude forem castigados 2 non se quiserem emendar.

(a) S (Black) e alguum frayre por muytas uezes for castigado. por qualquer culpa que seja. 2 se outro sy. ja foy scomungado por ello. 2 non se quiser emendar. façam el corrééyçon mays forte 2 mays aspera. conuen assaber. castiguem no con feridas de açoutes. (b) E se assy non se correger ajnda nem emendar. ou pella uentura o que deus non mande sealeuantar en soberua 2 quiser ajnda defender as suas máás obras. estonce oabbade faça aquello que faz oboom 2 sages fisico (c) Conuem assaber se ja lhe fez 2 mostrou criamentos 2 castigos con piedade 2 mansidoone. se unguentos de amoestaçoones dolces. se méézinhas 2 exemplos das santas scripturas. se depoys desto todo. queymamento de escomunhon. ou chagas 2 feridas deuaras. (d) E se uír que ja lhe non ual nem aproueyta cousa nehuma. a sua jndustria 2 sabedoria. estonce ajunte ajnda 2 en-

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CAP. XLVI nhada aq*ue*llo q*ue* he melhor 2 mayor. scilicet asua oraçon 2 a detodolos outros frayres por elle. q*ue* o senhor d*eu*s q*ue* todalas cousas pode faz*er*. obre 2 de saude ááq*u*al frayre enf*er*mo. (e) E se p*or* esta maneyra ajnda no*n* for saa*n*o. nem se quiser emendar. (f) Entón oabbade use de ferro q*ue* corte 2 talhe tal monge do mosteyro lançandóó fora del. assy como diz o apostolo.: (g) Deytade omááo fora de uos. (h) E diz ajnda mays. O mááo. se departe. departa 2 váá se. ne*m* p*er*uentura hu*m*a ouelha enf*er*ma 2 çuja 2 chea depeccado. tanga 2 ençugente toda a outra co*m*panha.:

CAP. XLVII. (Red) Se deuem séér recebidos outra uez. os frayres q*ue* se sairem ou fugirem domosteyro.
(a) (Blue) O (Black) frayre q*ue* por lo seu proprio uicio 2 peccado 2 p*or* sua culpa. se sááe ou O lançam fora do mosteyro. se depoys se quiser tornar p*er*ao mosteyro. p*ro*meta p*ri*meyram*en*te toda emendaçon do peccado 2 uicio por lo q*u*al-se sayo. 2 assy seja recebido no ultimo grááo postumeyro detodos. por tal q*ue* p*or* esto seja conhecida 2 prouada asua humildade. (b) E se desy adeante outra uez se sayr. atáá tres uezes p*er* esta guisa seja recebido. (c) Mas seja certo q*ue* ja depoys se uéér. q*ue* o no*n* leixaraia entrar ne*m* o Receberam no mosteyro.

CAP. XLVIII. (Red) Dos moços de meor ydade como os deue*m* castigar.
(XVII Vo.)
(a) (Blue) T (Black) oda ydade. 2 todo entendim*en*to deue hauer p*ro*prias mensuras 2 modos 2 q*u*antidades segundo mays ou menos. (b) E p*or* tanto p*or* q*u*antas uezes os moços peq*ue*nos 2 os mays mancebos p*or* ydade. 2 aquelles q*ue* menos podem entender 2 conhecer camanha he apena da escomunhon. estes tááes q*u*ando peccarem. co*n* grandes jeíuu*m*s sejam afflitos 2 atorm*en*tados. ou co*n* açoutes agres 2 fortes sejam refreados 2 constrangidos 2 castigados. por tal q*ue* se corregam 2 emendem. 2 recebam saude nas almas.

CAP. XLIX. (Red) Do cellareyro do mosteyro de q*ue* condiçon deue de séér.
(a) O (Black) Cellareyro domosteyro seja eligido 2 tomado dos da cong*re*gaçon. oq*u*al seja sabedor de-

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CAP. XLIX sabeduría. spiritual. 2 de booms 2 saanos custumes. deue de séér no falar 2 no obrar sobrio 2 mesurado 2 temperado. non sééR muyto comedor 2 gargantón. non soberuoso. non turbulento 2 escuro do uultu. 2 toruado. con ira 2 con sanha. que torue os outros. non jnjurioso que jnjuríe 2 doeste os outros. non tardinheyro 2 priguiçoso 2 deleixado. non degustador. mas homem que tema deus. oqual seja atoda acongregaçon assi como padre. (b) Haja cura 2 cuydado de todalas cousas. (c) Non faça cousa nehuma sen mandado do abbade. (d) Aquellas cousas que lhe mandarem guardar. essas guarde. (e) Os frayres non contriste nem anóge. (g) Se alguum frayre lhe pedír alguma cousa como non deue. non no contriste desprezandóó mas con boa razon 2 con humildade se escuse del 2 lhe negue acousa que pede mal 2 como non deue. (h) Guarde a sua alma. nembrando se sempre. daquello que o apostolo diz. conuem assaber. (i) Aquel que ben ministrar. gáánçara pera sy. bóóm grááo 2 boom logar ante deus. (j) Haja cura 2 cuydado con todo studo 2 diligencia. dos enfermos. 2 dos meninos. 2 dos hospedes 2 dos proues. sabendo sen duuida nehuma que de todas estas cousas. ha dedar conto 2 razon no dia do juyzo. (k) Todolos uasos 2 alfayas no mosteyro. esguarde 2 óólhe. 2 toda aoutra sustancia. assi como se fossem uasos sagrados do altar. (l) Non ponha nehuma cousa en neglegencia. nen stude nem cuyde en amareza. nem seja degastador 2 mááo despendedor

(XVIII Ro.)

nem destruydor da sustancia do mosteyro. mas todalas cousas faça mesuradamente 2 con descriçon. 2 como lhe mandar oabbade. (m) Ante todalas cousas que en el houuer. haja humildade. (n) Equando non teuer a sustancia 2 cousa que de ááqual que lha pede. de lhe boa pallaura 2 boa resposta. assi como hescripto. (o) Aboa palaura he sobre omuy boom dado.˙. (p) Todalas aquellas cousas que lhe oabbade encomendar. essas haja so sua cura. (q) Edaquellas que lhe defender non presuma. non ouse de se entermeter dellas. (r) De 2 presente aos frayres a Razon do seu mantíjmento que lhes he stabelecida 2 ordenada. sen detardança 2 sen referta 2 sen outra figura nehuma. por tal que se non scandalizem nem anogem. nembrando se da palaura

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CAP. XLIX que disse nosso senhor ihesu christo. conuem assaber. (s) Que merece aquel que scandalizar huum dos meus mays pequenos. (t) Merece 2 conuen que lhe leguem 2 dependurem ao collo huma móó asinaria. 2 que o lançem 2 amergam na profundeza 2 péégo do mar. (u) Se a congregaçon for grande dem lhe parceyros que o ajudem. por tal que el con boom coraçon 2 con boa voontade 2 alegre compla 2 faça complidamente o oficíci que lhe he cometido: (v) Nas horas conuinhaufjs 2 que pertéece. sejam dadas aquellas cousas que se houuerem dedar. 2 peçam aquellas que se houuerem depedir. por tal que nehuum. non seja toruado nem contristado na casa de deus.

CAP. L. (Red) Das ferramentas 2 das outras cousas do mosteyro (a) (Blue) N (Black) a sustancia do mosteyro. conuem assaber. nas ferramentas 2 nas uestiduras 2 en outras cousas quááes quer que sejam. proueja o Abbade 2 ponha tááes frayres. da uida 2 custumes dos quááes elle seja ben seguro. 2 assíjne acada huum aquellas cousas que houuer deguardar. 2 recolher 2 appanhar 2 ministrar assi como el iulgar 2 entender que he melhor 2 mays proueyto. (b) Das quááes cousas oabbade tenha huum memorial 2 scripto. pera saber oque da 2 oque recebe quando os frayres entram 2 saaem 2 socedem os officios a Reuezes. (c) E se alguum trautar as cousas do mosteyro. mal 2 çujamente 2 con negligencia. seja castigado. (d) E se. se non emendar. seja sometido 2 posto aá disciplina da regla.

CAP. LI. (Red) Sedeuem os monges téér ou hauer alguma cousa propria.
(a) A (Black) nte todalas cousas specialmente. aqueste uicio 2 peccado de Rayz se-
(XVIII Vo.)
ja tirado 2 talhado do mosteiro. que nehuum non presuma nem house. dedar nem receber cousa nehuma sen lecença 2 sen mandado do abbade. (b) Nen hauer cousa nehuma propria. 2 detodo entodo nehuma causa. scilicet. nem liuro nem tauoas nem stilo. mas nehuma cousa detodo entodo (c) Aos quááes monges certamente non conuem ajnda. nem lhes pertéece hauer en seu

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CAP. LI proprio poderio. osseus corpos nem as suas uoontades. (d) Mas todalas cousas necessarias deuem sperar 2 receber do padre do mosteyro. nem lhes conuenha hauer cousa nehuma que lhes oabbade non der ou leixar téér por sua lecença. (e) E todalas cousas sejam commuunas 2 géérääes atodos assy como he scripto. 2 nehuum non presuma nem ouse dedizer nem chamar alguma cousa sua. (f) E se alguum for achado que se deleyta en este muy mää̊o peccado de hauer 2 téér. 2 receber proprio 2 de appropriar assy méesmo alguma cousa dizendo que lhe he sua. este tal seja amoestado huma uez 2 duas. (g) E se se. non emendar. seja posto ää corrééyçon 2 castiguem no.

CAP. LII. (Red) Se deuem os monges receber todos jgualmente as cousas necessarias:
(a) (Blue) A (Black) ssy como he scripto nos autos dos apostolos. (b) Era partido 2 dado acada huum. porla guisa que lhe complia 2 fazia mester. (c) Hu non dizemos que haja hy recebimento 2 stremamento depersoas. oque deus non mande. mas haja hy consíjraçon das enfirmedades 2 das fraquezas. (d) E aquel que mays pouco houuer mester. de graçias adeus 2 non se contriste nem tome nojo. por darem mays aoutro que ael. (e) Eaquel que mays houuer mester. humilde sepor lasua jnfirmidade. 2 non se exalce nem ensoberueça por la misericordia que lhe fazem. 2 assy todolos membros serám enpaz. (f) Ante todalas cousas. non appareça no monge omal 2 opeccado da murmuraçon por causa nehuma que seja. nem por palaura nehuma qualquer que possa séér dita. nem por sinificaçon nehuma. (b) E se alguum for achado en mal 2 peccado de murmúro. seja castigado 2 posto ää mays streyta disciplina.

CAP. LIII. (Red) Dos domääyros da cozinha;
(a) O (Black) s frayres assi se seruam. huums os outros (spatium) que nehuum non seja scusado do officio da cozinha. saluo aquel que for enfermo. ou aquel que for occupado. en alguma cousa 2 razon de
(XIX Ro.)
gran proueyto domosteyro. por que por ello. scilicet por fim (7 litt. legi non potuerunt) gääncara 2 hauera o

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CAP. LIII monge móor mercéé. (b) Aos fracos sejam lhes procurados 2 dados parceyros que os ajudem. por tal que aquello que fezerem non ofaçam con tristeza. mas todos hajam solazes 2 companheyros. segundo omodo 2 amaneyra da congregaçon. 2 segundo o asséetamento 2 disposiçon do logar. (c) Se a congregaçon. for grande. o cellareyro seja scusado da cozinha. 2 aquelles que forem occupados en mayores proueytos assi como ja dissemos. (d) Mas todolos outros se seruam encaridade huums os outros. (e) Aquel que sayr dasomana. ao sabbado faça mundicias 2 límpezas. 2. Laue os tresorios 2 panos con que os frayres alimpam as maanos 2 os péés. (f) E tam ben esse que sáae. como aquel que entra por domaayro. lauem os péés a todos. (g) Os uasos do seu ministerio 2 seruicio con que seruio saanos 2 limpos os entregue (ras 2 litt.) 2 de (ras. 2 litt.) assíjnadamente porconto ao cellareyro. (h) O qual cellareyro. as de assíjnadamente. 2 por conto ao domayro. que entra. pera saber aquello que da 2 aquello que recebe. (i) Os domááyros. ante huma hora da refééyçon. conuem assaber. enaquella huma hora ante que os frayres comam. sobre a sua raçon stabelecida. tomem do pan 2 comam. 2 beuam senhas uezes. por tal que áá hora da refééyçon seruam a seus jrmaanos sen murmúro 2 sen graue trabalho. (j) Mas pero en nos dias solennes sostenham se atáá depoys das missas. os domayros que entrarem 2 os que sayrem. no dia do domingo. no oratorio logo como acabarem os laudes. uoluam se jnclinando aos péés detodos. 2 peçam que Roguem adeus por elles. (k) E os que sairem dasomana, digam aqueste uerso. Benedictus es domine deus qui adiuuasti me 2 consolatus es me. (l) Oqual dito por tres uezes tomem abéénçon 2 sayam. se. (m) Depoys destes. uenha. logo oque houer dentrar. 2 diga. Deus in adiutorium meum jntende: domine ad adiuuandum me festina.˙. (n) E aqueste. esso meesmo seja repetido detodos por tres uezes. (o) E tomada abéénçon. entre a seruir.

CAP. LIV. (Red) Dos enfermos: .

(a) (Blue) A (Black) ante todalas cousas 2 sobre todas deuem hauer cura 2 cuydado dos enfermos. por tal guisa que assy os seruam como se seruissem

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CAP. LIV (XIX Vo.)

uerdadeyramente a Ihesu christo. por que el disse que ha de dizer nodia de Juyzo. (b) Fuy enfirmo 2 doente. 2 ueestes me uisitar. (c) E aquello que uos fezestes ahuum destes meus muy mays pequenos. amym o fezestes. (d) Mas 2 esses enfermos consíjrem ben. que por honra. 2 amor de deus. os seruem. 2 non contristem nem anogem con sua sobegidón 2 engratidón . os seus jrmaanos que os seruem. (e) Peró esses seruidores deuem de sopportar. 2 soffrer os seus pacientes 2 os achaques 2 engratidoones delles con muyta paciencia. por que de tááes gaançarám 2 hauerám ante deus móór mercéé 2 galardon. sopportandoos. (f) E por esto muy grande cura 2 cuydado haja. oabbade dos enfermos. que non padeçam nehuma negligencia nem míngua. (g) Peraos quááes frayres enfermos seja huma cella. assíjnada 2 appartada sobre sy. 2 huum seruidor que tema 2 ame deus. 2 que seja diligente 2 solicito. seja posto en ella. (h) Aos enfermos seja outorgado 2 dado o huso dos bánhos cadauéz que os houuerem mester. (i) Mas aos saanos 2 móórmente aos mancebos mays tarde lhes seja outorgado. (j) O comer das carnes seja outorgado. 2 dado aos enfermos detodos entodo 2 fracos. poR repayramento dos corpos. (k) E depoys que forem melhorados 2 mays fortes .todos se abstenham das carnes assi como ham de custume 2 de usu. (l) O abbade haja muy grande cura 2 cuydado. que os enfermos non sejam desemparados dos cellareyros o dos seruidores. que padeçam por culpa delles algumas minguas 2 neglegencias. por que ael pertéece. oolhar. 2 correger 2 castigar 2 .emendar qualquer cousa en que os discipulos desfalecerem 2 errarem.

CAP. LV. (Red) Dos uelhos 2 dos moços pequenos.

(a) C (Black) omo quer. que essa naturaleza humanal de sy méésma seja mouida 2 jnclinada a misericordia 2 apiedade en estas ydades conuem assaber. dos uelhos 2 dos moços pequenos. peró ajnda áálem desto. a autoridade da regla óólhe 2 esguarde en elles. (b) E seja sempre consíjrada en elles asua fraqueza. 2 en nehuma maneyra o appertamento 2 estreyteza da regla non seja teuda nem aguardada aelles no comer. mas seja en elles

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CAP. LV consſjraçon de piedade. 2 comam ante das horas regulares. conuem assaber. ante
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da sexta ou da noa.

CAP. LVI. (Red) Do domayro de léér áa mesa.

(a) (Blue) Á (Black) ás mesas dos frayres quando comerem nunca deue desfalecer liçon. (b) E nehuum non tome olſuro subitamente nem ouse hy de léér. saluo se omandarem. mas aquel que houuer de léér toda adomáá. entre aléér ao dia do domingo. (c) Oqual domááyro quando entrar. peça 2 demande atodos. depoys das missas 2 depoys da comunhón. que roguem adeus por elle. que tire 2 arrede delle. ospiritu da uaan gloria 2 da soberua. (d) E seja dito detodos no oratorio por tres uezes. aqueste uerso. peró começandóó elle primeyro. Domine labia mea aperies: et osmeum annunciabit laudem tuam. (e) E assy tomada abéézon. entre aléér. (f) E muy grande silencio seja feyto 2 teudo áá mesa. non seja hy ouuida muſitaçon nem soo feyto comboca. nem uoz denehuum. se non daquel sóó que léér. (g) Aquellas cousas que forem necessarias ááquelles que commerem 2 beberem. assy as presentem 2 ministrem os frayres huums aos outros. en tal guiza que nehuum no haja mester depedir cousa nehuma. (h) Pero. se alguma cousa houuerem mester. peçam na mays porsoom dequalquer signal. que por uoz. (i) Nem ouse nem presuma nehuum de contar hy. nem Razoar cousa nehuma dessa liçon nem doutra por que non seja dado áazo 2 cajon defalar. (j) Saluo pella uentura se oprior quiser dizer alguma cousa breuemente por edificaçon. (k) O frayre domayro do léér áá mesa. tome mixto ante que comece aléér. por la comunhon santa. nem pella uentura lhe seja graue cousa sopportar o Jeíúúm 2 lhe aconteça alguum perigóó portoruamento do estamago. (l) E depoys coma. con. os domááyros 2 con os seruidores da cozinha. (m) Os frayres non leam por ordem áá mesa. mas leam aquelles que possam edificar os outros que os ouuerem.

CAP. LVII. (Red) Da quantidade 2 mesura dos manjares (a) C (Black) réémos. que peráá Reſééyçon 2 comer decada dia. assi da hora da sexta come da noa. en-

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CAP. LVII todolos meses auondarám dous condoytos por las jnfermidades 2 propriedades desvayradas. por tal que aquel que pella uentura non poder comer duhum. coma do outro. (b) E por esto o dizemos. que dous condoytos auondem (bastem, s. XV) atodolos frayres (monges, s. XV) .(c) E se

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hy houuer fruyta ou naçoones de legúmes. seja dada áá terceyra uez Huma liura depan por peso auonde (baste, s. XV) porlo dia. assi no dia dehuma refééyçon. come dejantar 2 de cear. (d) E sè houuerem de céar. guarde o cellareyro. aterça parte dessa liura. peráá ááquelles que houuerem de cear. (e) E se pella uentura houuerem. alguum grande trabalho en aluidro 2 poderio do abbade. será ennhader mays 2 acrecentar alguma cousa se uír que comple. (f) Tirada ante todalas cousas assobegidoone 2 a muyta farteza. que nunca tome nem haja logo enno monge omuyto enchemento do estomago que non possa esmoér. por que non ha cousa nehuma que assi seja contrayra 2 enpecíuil atodo christaaom. como ocomer 2 obeuer sobejo. (g) Assy como disse nosso senhor ihesu christo. (h) Uéede 2 aguardade uos que non sejam aggrauados os uossos coraçoones ensobegidoone de comer 2 debeuer. (i) Mas aos moços pequenos 2 demeor ydade. non lhes seja aguardada essa quantidade que dam aos mayores. mas seja mays pequena que a dos mayores. guardada entodalas cousas atemperança. (j) Todos se abstenham de todo entodo docomer das carnes de quatro pees. saluo aquelles que forem detodo entodo fracos 2 enfermos.

CAP. LVIII. (Red) Da mesura 2 da quantidade do beber dos monges.

(a) C (Black) adahuum recebe 2 ha seu proprio dom dedeus. huums assy 2 outros assy desvayradamente. (b) E por tanto stabelecemos 2 ordenamos amesura 2 quantidade do mantíjmento docomer 2 do beuer dos outros con alguma duuida 2 con temor. (c) Peró óólhando 2 consíjrando affraqueza dos enfermos. créémos que auondará por lo dia acada huum huma émina deuinho. que he huma liura. 2 aliura peso de doze onças. (d) Aquelles aque deus da dom 2 graça de abstinença 2 de

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CAP. LVIII sopportamento. sejam certos que hauerám 2 receberam de deus. sua propria mercéé 2 gualardon porello. (e) E se anecessidade do logar. ou o trabalho. ou o feruor do estío 2 da caentura. mays demanda 2 houuer mester. seja en aluidro do priór. consíjrando entodalas cousas. que non haja hy. nem entre so specie de necessidade. muyta farteza. ou bebedice. (f) Peró que nos léémos que o uínho de todo entodo non he dos monges. maspor que agora nos nossos tempos

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esto non podemos aos monges poer. envoontade. au menos esto lhes consentamos. que non bebamos muyto atáá que nos fartemos del. mas temperadamente por que ouinho faz apostatar 2 desviar do caminho de deus 2 dos seus mandamentos. non tansóómente os simplices. mas ajnda os sabedores. (g) Mas no logar hu anecessidade del. demandar. que asobre dita mensura 2 a quantidade do uinho. non possa séér achada. mas muyto mays pouco. ou de todo nehuma cousa. aquelles que hy morarem béénzam 2 dem graças 2 louuores adeus. 2 non murmurem. (h) E esto antetodalas cousas amoestamos 2 dizemos. que os frayres sejam antre sy sen murmuraçon.˙.

CAP. LIX. (Red) A que horas deuem a comer os monges.

(a) (Blue) D (Black) es asanta pascoa. atáá opentecoste. os frayres. comam depoys desexta. 2 céém áá tarde. (b) Mas des opentecoste portodo o estio atáá meatade de setembro. se os monges non houuerem trabalhos en nos agros. ou agrande caentura. do estio. os non toruar. jeíuunem aquarta. 2 a sexta feria atáá noa. (c) En Todolos outros dias. jantem depoys de sexta. (d) Aqual sexta dejantar continuem por toda adomáá se houuerem obras 2 trabalhos en nos agros. ou o feruor do estio for grande. 2 esto seja na prouidencia do abbade. (e) Oqual assy tempére 2 ordene todalas cousas. enguisa que as almas se saluem. 2 aquello que os frayres fezerem. façam no. sen murmuro nehuum. (f) Peró dos ydos de septembro atáá ocomeço da coréésma sempre comam depoys de noa. (g) E na coréésma atáá pascoa. comam depoys da uespera: (h) Pero essa uespera assy 2 atal hora seja dita. que os que comerem non hajam mester lume de candéa. mas todalas cousas sejam feytas 2

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CAP. LIX acabadas. con luz ajnda do dia. (i) Mas 2 entodo tempo. assi de cear come dejantar. assy seja temperada ahora. que todalas cousas sejam feytas con luz de dia.

CAP. LX. (Red) Decomo nehuum non deue falar depoys de completa.

(a) E (Black) n todo tempo. os monges deuem de téér silencio. mayormente nas horas 2 no tempo da noute. (b) E porende entodo tempo assy de jeſuhum como de jantar. se for tempo dejantar 2 cear. logo como se leuantarem da cea. assééntem se todos enhuum logar. 2 lea huum as

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collaçoones ou as uidas dos padres santos. ou certamente outra cousa que possa edificar aquelles que a ouvirem. (c) E non leam o pentatéuco. couem assaber. os cinco liuros de moyses. nem os liuros dos Reys. por que aos entendimentos enfermos 2 fracos non será proueytoso en aquella hora ouvir aquesta scriptura. (d) Mas nas outras horas sejam leudos. (e) E se for dia de jeiuum. dita a uespera. 2 feyto huum entreuallo 2 spaço pequeno. logo se cheguem todos áá liçon das collaçoones assi como ja dissemos. 2 leudas quatro ou cínco folhas. ou quanto ahora der uagar. todos en huum occorrendo 2 víjndo por este spaço 2 detíjmento da liçon (f) Se alguum pella uentura for occupado en alguum officio assi cometido 2 assíjnado occorra 2 uenha. (g) E todos enhuum ajuntados complam 2 acabem as horas de deus. (h) E depoys que saírem da completa. non seja dada diadeante lecença anehuum defalar cousa nehuma. (i) E se foR. achado alguum que brite 2 traspasse aquesta regla do silencio 2 do calar. seja posto 2 sometido áá mays graue uingança 2 castígo. saluo se sobreuéér necessidade dehospedes que cheguarem ao mosteyro. ou pella uentura oabbade mandar ááalguum fazer. alguma cousa. (k) Aqual cousa emperó seja feyta con muy grande graueza 2 peso 2 temperamento 2 muyto honestamente.

CAP. LXI. (Red) Daquelles que áás horas de deus ou ámesa do comer véérem 2 chegarem tarde: .

(a) (Blue) Á (Black) áhora do officio diuíno. logo. como os monges ouverem osigno. leixem todalas cousas

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CAP. LXI

quááesquer que teuerem nas maanos. 2 corram 2 vaam se con muy gram pressa: (b) Peró esto con graueza 2 temperança. por tal que aligeyrice 2 leuidade non ache materia nem criamento enque se gouerne. (c) Epoys que assy he. non seja leixada aobra de deus por cousa nehuma que seja. (d) E se pella uentura alguum áás uigilias das noutes véér depoys da gloria patri.do nonagesimo quarto salmo. oqual por esto todauia. deteendóó. queremos que seja dito apasso. non sté en sua ordem no choro. mas sté postumeyro 2 afundo de todos .ou en outro lugar. qual o abbade stabelecer. 2 assíjnar. apartado a estes tááes negligentes. por tal guisa que seja uisto desse abbade .ou detodolos outros frayres. atáá que a obra de deus seja acaba-

(XXII Ro.)

da. por publica satisfaçon faça penitencia. (e) E por tanto julgamos que aquelles negligentes deuem star no postumeyro logar. ou appartados dos outros. por tal que sejam uistos de todos 2 siquer por essa sua uergonça que hy padecerem. se emendem 2 castiguem. (f) Por que se ficassem fora do oratorio. sería pella uentura alguum tal que se lançaria. adormir. ou certamente. se asseentaría fora da egreja occioso. ou britaría o senço 2 entenderia en fabulas 2 palauras dannosas 2 sen proueyto. nem seja dado cajon 2 áázo ao dabóó. mas entre dentro no coro. que non perca todo. 2 desyadeante emende se. (g) Mas áás horas de dia .aquel que áá obra de deus. occorrer 2 chegar depoys do uerso Deus inadiutorium meum intende. 2 depoys dagloria do primeyro salmo. oqual sediz depoys do uerso sobredito. sté pella ley que acima dissemos. no postumeyro logar. nen presuma nem ouse de se ajuntar áá companhía dos que cantam no coro. atáá que satisfaça. saluo se lhe o abbade por seu mandado deR lecença. assy emperó que o Rééo 2 culpado satisfaça primeyro desto. (h) Aá hora da refééyçon 2 do comer aquel que non véeR ante do uerso que todos ajuntadamente digam ouerso 2 orem 2 enhuum todos ensembra se acheguem áá mesa. aquel que por sua neglegencia ou por seu uicio 2 peccado 2 porsua culpa. non occorer 2 chegar. seja por esto castigado atáá duas uezes. (i) E se desyadeante. se non emendar non no leixem participar nem séér áá mesa communha detodos.

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CAP. LXI mas appartado da companhia de todos. coma sóó. 2 tolham lhe a sua Raçom do uinho. atáá q*ue* satifsaça 2 se emende. (k) Semelhauilm*en*te padeça. aq*ue*l q*ue* no*n* for presente. ááq*ue*l uerso q*ue* se diz depoys q*ue* comem. (l)· E nehuu*m* no p*re*suma ne*m* ouse detomar cousa nehu*m*a decomer ne*m* debeber ante da hora ne*m* depoys dahora stabelecida. (m) E se oprior der ou enviaR algu*m*a cousa. ááIguu*m* 2 el a no*n* quiser tomar. ááq*ue*lla hora q*ue* quiser 2 desejar aq*ue*llo q*ue* primeyram*en*te no*n* quis tomar. ou outra cousa semelhauil. detodo entodo no*n* lha dem. atáá q*ue* se conheça 2 satisfaça 2 faça penitencia 2 emenda conuinhauil.

CAP. LXII. (Red) Daquelles q*ue* som escomungados 2 appartados como ham de satisfazer 2 acaber sua péédença. (XXII Vo.)

(a) Aq*ue*l q*ue* por graues culpas for scomungado 2 appartado do oratorio 2 da mesa. en aq*ue*lla hora q*ue* acabarem aobra de d*eu*s no oratorio. deyte se 2 jaça strado ante as portas do oratorio no*n* dizendo cousa nehu*m*a. se no*n* tansóóm*en*te. co*n* acabeça posta ent*er*ra jaça derribado 2 jnclinado aos péés de todos os q*ue* saírem do oratorio. (b) E aq*ue*sto faça p*or*tanto tempo atéé q*ue* Oabbade julgue 2 diga q*ue* ja he satisfeyto. (c) Eq*u*ando oabbade. omandar q*ue* uenha. deyte se ante os péés desse abbade. 2 depoys aos péés detodos q*ue* orem 2 roguem ad*eu*s por elle. (d) E estonce se oabbade mandar. seja recebido no coro. ou en naordem 2 grááo q*ue* oabbade stabelec*er* 2 ordenaR. (e) En esta manayra sáámente. q*ue* el non presuma ne*m* ouse deleuantar salmo nem antiphaa*n* ne*m* diz*er* liço*n*. ne*m* outra cousa nehu*m*a. no oratorio. saluo se lhe oabbade (spatium) enco*m*mendar ou mandar. (f) E atodalas horas q*u*ando complirem 2 acabare*m* aobra de d*eu*s deyte se ent*er*ra no logar hu steuer 2 assy satisfaça. atáá q*ue* lhe o abbade mande. q*ue* cesse 2 quede ja desta satisfaço*n* 2 pee*n*dença. (g) Mas aq*ue*lles q*ue* por lygeyras culpas som scomungados 2 apartados tansoo(*n*)mente da mesa. satisfaça*m* na egreja atéé q*ue* Oabbade mande. (h) E aq*ue*sto façam semp*re*. atáá q*ue* oabbade béénza 2 diga assaz he

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CAP. LXIII. (Red) Daquelles q*ue* fallecem 2 som enganados na egreja. no q*ue* ham de diz*er*.

(a) (Blue) S (Black) e alguu*m* frayre q*u*ando pronuncía 2 diz. salmo ou responso. ou antiphaa*n*. ou liçon. erra 2 desfalece. se logo hy p*or* satisfaça*n* se non humildar 2 abaixar p*er*dante todos. seja sometido 2 posto amayor pena 2 uíngança. por q*ue* certamente. no*n* quis p*or* humildade correger 2 emendar. aq*ue*llo enq*ue* pecou 2 desfalecéo p*or*sua neglegencia. (b) Mas os moços peq*ue*nos. por tal culpa 2 neglegencia como. esta. sejam açoutados posto q*ue* satisfaçam. se oseu mayor vír q*ue* omerecem.

CAP. LXIV. (Red) Daquelles q*ue* en algu*m*as cousas peccam 2 desfalecem. hu (onde. s. XV) quer.

(a) S (Black) e alguu*m* q*u*ando trabalha en qualq*ue*r lauor. na cozinha. no cellareyro. no forno. no ministerio 2 s*er*uiço. na orta. en algu*m*a arte ou enq*u*alq*ue*r logar. algu*m*a cousa peccar 2 auessar. ou q*ue*brar q*u*alq*ue*r q*ue* seja. ou peder. ou en algu*m*a cousa sobrepoJar 2 desfalecer. hu (onde, s. XV) quer q*ue* seja.

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2 no*n* véér logo áá hora q*ue* deuér ante o abbade ou ante a cong*re*gaçø*n*. el de sua p*ro*pria voo*n*tade satisfaz*er* 2 diz*er* sua culpa. 2 demostrar. o seu peccado. q*u*ando esto p*or* outrem for sabudo 2 conhecido. seja sometido 2 posto amayor emendaçon 2 penite*n*cia. (b) Mas p*er*ó se for algu*m*a cousa ascondida 2 encuberta depeccado da alma. demostre a. tansóómente a seu abbade ou aos anciaa*n*os spirituááes 2 co*n*fessores. q*ue* sabam curar 2 sáár as suas chagas. 2 as alheas no*n* descobrir ne*m* publicar.

CAP. LXV. (Red) Do tanger 2 fazer sinal ááhora da obra de d*eu*s:

(a) (Blue) P (Black) erá tanger 2 demostrar. ahora da obra de d*eu*s seja esta cura. cuydado do abbade. de dia 2 de noute. q*ue* ou el atanga 2 demostre. ou de 2 encomende aq*ue*sta cura 2 encarrego atal frayre. q*ue* seja solicito 2 diligente 2 ben aguiçoso p*er*a esto faz*er*. en guiza q*ue* todalas cousas sejam feytas 2 complidas a se*u*s tempos 2 horas conuinhaufjs. (b) Mas os salmos

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CAP. LXV 2 as antiphaans depoys do abbade por sua ordem leuantem aquelles aque for encomendado. (c) E nehuum non presuma. nem ouse decantar nem deléér. saluo aquel que esse officio pode ben complir. ental guisa que sejam edificados 2 contentes aquelles que o ovuírem. (d) Aqual cousa faça con humildade 2 graueza deuotamente 2 con temor. aquel aque o abbade encomendar.

CAP. LXVI. (Red) Da obra das maanos decada dia por todo o anno.

(a) A (Black) ociosidade 2 folga corporal. jmíjga he dáalma. (b) Epor tanto en certos tempos se deuem os frayres ocupar 2 trabalhar. en lauor demaanos. 2 en certas horas condecabo na liçon santa. (c) E pera esto créémos que poraquesta disposiçon 2 maneyra. seram ambos estes tempos ben partidos 2 ordenados. conuem assaber que desapascoa atáá as calendas de outobro. como os frayres sairem pella manhaan da prima. trabalhem 2 obrem en aquello que lhes for necessario. atéés ahora acerca de quarta. (d) E dés ahora quarta atáá ahora acerca de sexta entendam 2 sejam ááliçon. (e) E depoys da sexta como se leuantarem decomer. pousem se 2 deytem se en seus leytos con todo silencio. ou pella uentura aquel que quiser léér. ental guisa lea assy meesmo. que non jnquiete nem anóge outrem. (f) E anoa seja dita mays cedo

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conuem assaber. ahora outaua. meante. 2 condecabo obrem 2 trabalhem en aquello que for pera fazer. atéés auespera. (g) Ese anecessidade do logar ou aprouveza demandar que os frayres por sy vaano 2 appanhar os pááes. non se contristem nem tomem nojo. porque estonce seram uerdadeyramente monges. se uiuerem portrabalho de suas maanos. assy como uiuéron os nossos santos padres antígos 2 os apostolos. (h) Peró. todalas cousas sejam feytas mesuradamente 2 con discreçon por Razon dos fracos.

CAP. LXVII. (Red) Enque ham detrabalhar os monges des as calendas de outobro.

(a) (Blue) D (Black) as calendas de outobro atáá ocomeço da coréésma. dela manhaan atéés asegunda

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CAP. LXVII hora do dia complida. entendam 2 sejam os monges en liçon. (b) E acabada asegunda hora. digam a terça. 2 depoys atáá hora denoa. todos trabalhem en na sua obra que lhes for encomendada (c) E como fezerem oprimeyro sinal dahora da noa. parta se cadahuum doseu lauor 2 da sua obra. 2 sejam aprestes 2 aparelhados. pera quando tanger osegundo síno. (d) Depoys que comerem entendam 2 sejam a suas liçoones ou asalmos. lééndo. ou meditando 2 pensando.

CAP. LXVIII. (Red) Da coréésma.

(a) N (Black) os dias da coréésma de la manhaan atéés ahora deterça complida. entendam os monges 2 sejam en liçon. (b) E depoys atáá decima hora dodia acabada. obrem 2 façam aquello que lhes for mandado. (c) Nos quááes dias da coréésma. todos tomem senhos liuros da libraria. os quáaes leam enteyramente. por ordem. (d) Os quááes liuros sedeuem adár no começo da caréésma. (e) Ante todalas cousas sáámente seja stabelecido 2 assíjnado huum anciaano ou dous. que cerquem 2 andem o mosteyro. ááquellas horas que os frayres séém enliçon. 2 vejam 2 oolhem. nem pella uentura achem alguum frayre ocioso que uague en ociosidade ou en falas. 2 non he atento áá liçon. 2 non tansóómente assiméesmo he danoso 2 sen proueyto. mas ajnda estorua 2 leuanta os outros 2 dalhes cajóm 2 ousío que se leuantem da liçon. (f) Aqueste tal oque deus non mande. se for achado. se-

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ja castigado aprimeyra 2 a segunda uez. (g) Ese. se non emendar. seja posto áá correeyçon da regla 2 castiguem no. por tal guisa que todolos outros hajam medo. (h) Nehuum frayre non se ajunte aoutrem frayre en nas horas 2 tempos que non conueem. (i) No dia do domingo todos sejam en liçon. afora aquelles que endevayrados officios som postos 2 assíjnados 2 stabelecidos. (k) Ese alguum for assi negligente 2 priguiçoso. que non queyra ou non possa meditar 2 pensar alguum ben. nem léér. seja lhe encomendada tal obra. que faça. por tal que non uague nem seja ocioso. (l) Aos frayres enfermos 2 aos delicados 2 de fraca compreysson. tal obra ou arte lhes seja encomendada que nem sejam ocio-

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CAP. LXVIII sos. nem pella força 2 quebranto do trabalho. sejam assy appremados que fugam 2 se arredem do ben fazer. (m) A fraqueza dos quaaes o abbade adeue deconsíjrar.

CAP. LXIX. (Red) Da obseruança 2 guarda da coréésma:.
(a) (Blue) E (Black) como quer que entodo tempo auida do monge deue hauer guarda de coreesma. (b) Peró porque esta uirtude he de poucos. porém. amoestamos 2 rogamos. que en estes dias da coréésma. omonge guarde sua uida con toda pureza 2 limpeza. conuem assaber. que todalas negligencias 2 folhas 2 mjnguas dosoutros tempos. ajuntadamente. en estes santos dias destrua 2 emende. (c) Aqual causa será estonce dignamente feyta se nos temperarmos 2 nos arredarmos 2 quitarmos detodos uicios 2 peccados. 2 nos dermos áá oraçon con choros. 2 áá liçon 2 áá compunçon 2 suspiros do coraçon. 2 fezermos abstinencia do comer 2 do beber. (d) Poys pera esto. en estes dias. acrecentemos anós. mays alguma cousa. sobre apenson 2 quantidade donosso seruiço. que soemos a fazer. conuem assaber. oraçoones appartadas 2 speciááes. 2 abstinencia do comer 2 do beber. (e) E cada huum áálem daquella mensura 2 quantidade que lhe he encommendada. offereça alguma cousa adeus desua propria uoontade con goyuo 2 plazer do spirito santo. conuem assaber. tíre ao seu corpo do comer. do beber. do dormir. do falar. das ligeyrices. 2 dos jogos 2 dossca rnhos. 2 con goyuo 2 plazer de desejo spiritual. aguarde 2 attenda. a
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santa pascoa. (f) Pero aquello méésmo que cadahuum offerecer. primeyramente ofaça saber a seu abbade. 2 con aoraçon 2 uoontade del. seja feyto. por que aquello que se faz sen mandado 2 sen lecença do padre spiritual. sera contado 2 hauudo por presumpçon 2 vaan gloria. 2 non mercéé. (g) Poys todalas cousas deuem séér feytas con avoontade do abbade.

CAP. LXX. (Red) Dos frayres que andam en lauór longe do oratorio. ou som en caminho. enviados.
(a) O (Black) s frayres que de todo entodo som longe domosteyro enlauor 2 entrabalho. 2 non podem víjnr ao oratorio Rezar. atempo 2 hora que comple 2 oabbade

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CAP. LXX sabe 2 entende q*ue* assy he. façam 2 rezem aobra de d*eus* en esse logo hu trabalham 2 obram. con tremor diuino. ficando os genolhos ent*er*ra. (b) Semelhauelmente façam aq*ue*lles q*ue* som enuiados encaminho. no*n* os traspassem as horas stabelecidas. mas assi como melhor poderem Rezem nas. 2 no*n* desprez*em* ne*m* ponham en negligencia pagar apenson 2 debito do s*er*uiço de d*eus*.

CAP. LXXI. (Red) Dos frayres q*ue* vaa*no* 2 som enviados no*n* muy longe do mosteyro
(a) (Blue) O (Black) s frayres q*ue* por qualq*uer* causa 2 mandado q*ue* seja. vaa*no* 2 som enuiados afora do mosteyro. 2 en esse dia sp*er*am atornar ao mosteyro. no*n* presumam ne*m* ousem decomer fora. ajnda q*ue* detodo entodo os Rogue 2 conuide qualq*uer* p*er*soa. saluo se p*e*lla uentura lhes o seu abbade mandaR ou der lecença. (b) E se dout*r*a guisa fezerem escomunguem nos.

CAP. LXXII. (Red) Dooratorio 2 da egreja do mosteyro.˙.
(a) O (Black) oratorio. esto seja o q*ue* hedito 2 chamado. co*n*uen assab*er* casa de oraço*n*. 2 out*r*a cousa nehu*m*a no*n* seja hy en ella feyta ne*m* posta. (b) E acabada aobra de d*eus*. todos se sayram co*n* muy gran silencio. 2 façam reue*r*ença adeus inclinando (s. XV. in rasura, contra ho altar) por tal q*ue* ofrayre q*ue* p*e*lla uentura quer orar appartadamente enspecial. no*n* seja embargado ne*m* estoruado p*or* maldade doutro. (c) Mas ajnda se p*er*uentura out*r*o queR orar mays segredam*en*te simplizm*en*te entre 2 ore 2 n (s. XV, o*n* e*n*) uoz clamosa 2 de brá*á*dos. mas en lagrimas 2 enteen̄çon decoraço*n*. (d) Poys por esto. oq*ue* tal obra semelhauil deoraço*n* no*m* faz. no*n* no leixem ficar no oratorio. como for acabada aobra de d*eus*. assi como dito he. ne p*e*lla

(Catchword, uent*ur*a)

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uentura o outro padeça alguu*m* jmpedim*en*to 2 estoruo ou nojo.

CAP. LXXIII. (Red) Como se ham de Receber os hospedes.˙.
(a) T (Black) odo los hospedes q*ue* sobreu*é*ér*em* ao mosteíro. assi como ih*es*u chr*ist*o sejam recebidos. por q*ue*

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CAP. LXXIII el no dia do juyzo hade dizer. (b) Hospede fuy 2 recebestes me. (c) E atodolos hospedes seja feyta 2 dada honra conuinhauil segundo que for pertéécente. acadahuma persoa. 2 mayormente aos domesticos 2 familiares da nossa fe. assi como som os canonigos 2 os religiosos 2 os segrááes christaanos booms. 2 specialmente aos monges come nos 2 peregrijs. (d) Poys por esto. como for dito 2 sabido. que alguum hospede chega ááporta do mosteyro. occorra oprior 2 uáá ho Receber. ou os frayres con todo officio decaridade. (e) E primeyro orem todos juntamente. 2 assy sejam acompanhados na paz do osculo (f) O qual osculo 2 beyjo depaz. non lhe seja dado antes. saluo primeyro feyta a oraçon. polos escarnecementos 2 enganamentos do diabóó. (g) E en essa saudaçon dos hospedes. seja demostrada toda humildade. (h) E a todo los hospedes que uéérem ou se partirem do mosteyro. a cabeça jnclinada. ou todo O corpo derribado 2 strado enterra. seja en elles adorado ihesu christo. oqual recebem en elles. (i) E depoys que os hospedes forem recebidos tragam nos ááoraçon. e depoys seja con elles oprior ou outro aquem os el encomendar. (k) E leam per diante ohospede aley de deus. 2 esponham lhe alguma boa liçon santa se tal for o hospede perááuer deuoçon 2 pera séér edificado. (l) E depoys desto. seja lhe feyta 2 dada toda humanidade 2 necessidade perao corpo assy das outras cousas come do comer 2 de beueR (m) O prior quebrante ojeiuum por lo hospede. saluo se for odia do jeiuum precipuu 2 solenne que non possa nem deua séér quebrantado. (n) Mas os frayres sigam 2 guardem. 2 continúem o custume dos seus jeiuums. (o) O abbade deyte aagua áás maanos. aos hospedes. (p) O abbade 2 toda a congregaçon lauem opéés aos hospedes. os quááes lauados. digam este uerso. (g) Suscepimus deus misericordiam tuam in medio templi tui. (r) O Recebemento dos proues 2 dos peregrijns. specialmente ante todalas cousas seja feyto con diligencia 2 aguça 2 con toda cura 2 cuydado. por que en

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elles he mays recebido ihesu christo. que ennos Ricos. ca o terrór 2 spanto dos Ricos demanda 2 requere que lhes dem 2 façam honra. (s) A cozinha do abbade 2 a

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CAP. LXXIII dos hospedes. seja appartada sobre sy. por tal q*ue* os hospedes. q*ue* en horas no*n* certas 2 desvayradas vee*m* 2 nunca quedam. ne*m* desfalecem. ao mosteyro. no*n* jnquiétem ne*m* anogem os frayres. (t) Enna qual cozinha. entrem encadahuu*m* anno do*us* frayres q*ue* esse officio ben complam 2 façam p*er*feytame*n*te. (u) Aos quááes sejam ministrados 2 dados parceyros se os houuerem mest*er*. por tal q*ue* seruam sen murmúro. (v) E q*u*ando forem uagos 2 no*n* teuerem (q*ue* eras.) en q*ue* se occupar na cozinha. vaa*n*o áás outras obras 2 lauores hu lhes mandarem. (w) Eno*n* tansolame*n*te. en estas. mas ajnda entodolos officias do mosteyro. méésma consíjraçon 2 maneyra seja teúda. q*ue* quando houuerem mesteR ajudoyros 2 companheyros sejam lhes ministrados 2 dados. (x) E condecabo q*u*ando forem uagos. obedéé-çam ao q*uel* hes enco*m*mendar outra obra. (y) E huu*m* frayre cuja alma tema 2 ame de*us*. tenha 2 haja hu*m*a cella dos hospedes certa 2 assíjnada. 2 acasa dede*us* sagesme*n*te seja ministrada 2 regida po*r* los boo*m*s 2 sabedores. (z) Aquel aq*ue* no*n* foR enco*m*mendado. ennehu*m*a maneyra no*n* acompanhe ne*m* se achegue aos hospedes ne*m* fale con elles. mas se encontrar co*n* elles ou os vér .saude os. humildosamente p*er*la guisa q*ue* ja dito he. 2 abéé*ç*on pedida. traspasse. dizendo en seu coraço*n* q*ue* lhe no*n* conuen ne*m* p*er*téé*c*e falar co*n* ohospede.

CAP. LXXIV. (Red) Que no*n* deue omonge Receber lete*r*as ne*m* doo*n*es ne*m* outras Joyas.

(a) (Blue) E (Black) n nehu*m*a maneyra no*n* conuenha ao monge Receber de se*us* parentes ne doutro homem q*ual*q*uer* ne*m* huum monge doutro. nem dar. cartas demessageems. ne*m* doo*m*es grandes. ne*m* outros q*uáá*es q*uer* doo*m*es peq*ue*nos ne*m* joyas. sen mandada 2 lecença de seu abbade. (b) E se lhe ajnda se*us* parentes enuiarem algu*m*a cousa. no*n* p*re*suma ne*m* ouse de a Receber. atáá q*ue* o primeyrame*n*te diga 2 faça sab*er* ao abbade. (c) E se p*e*lla uentura mandar q*ue* a Recebam. en po-derio do

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abbade seja de adár. aque*m* el mandar. (d) E no*n* se contriste ne*m* tome nojo aquel frayre aq*ue* p*er* uentura foy enviada essa cousa. por tal q*ue* no*n* seja dada cajon 2

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CAP. LXXIV áázo ao dabóó. (e) E aq*ue*l q*ue* en outra guisa p*re*sumir 2 ousar defaz*er* seja posto áá disciplina da Regla.

CAP. LXXV. (Red) Das uestiduras dos frayres.·.

(a) A (Black) s vestiduras sejam dadas aos frayres. segundo aq*u*alidade 2 atemp*er*ança dos ááres. dos logares hu moram. por q*ue* nas t*er*ras 2 logares fríos. mays ham mestér. 2 ennos queen*te*s menos. (b) Poys esta con*s*fjraç*on* seja en no juyzo do abbade. (c) Peró nos créémos q*ue*. nos logares temp*er*ados abastará acadahuu*m* monge cugula 2 saya. conuen assaber. no jnu*er*no cugula uíllosa 2 grossa. 2 no estío pura 2 delgada ou uelha. 2 huu*m* scapulayro p*er* áás obras. (d) As uestidúras 2 cobrim*en*tos dos péés. sejam pehugas 2 calças. (e) Da color das quááes cousas 2 da grossura dellas. no*n* questoo*n*em os monges ne*m* se queixem ne*m* façam delo gran cuydado .mas contente*m* se detááes quááes poderem séér achados na p*ro*uincia 2 t*er*ra hu moram. ou quááes jgualmente mays demercado se poderem comprar. (f) E oabbade proueja da mensura 2 q*u*antidade. q*ue* no*n* sejam curtas essas uestiduras ááq*ue*lles q*ue* as husarem 2 trouverem. (g) Mas sejam mesuradas. (h) E q*u*ando receberem as uestiduras nouas. dem semp*re* as uelhas logo no presente. 2 seja*m* postas na casa da uestaría p*er*aos proues. (i) Ao monge abasta téér duas sayas 2 duas cugulas. p*e*llo dormír das noutes. 2 p*er*a poder lauar essas cousas. (k) E ja oq*ue* demays. for. sobejo he. 2 deue de séér tirado. (l) E as pehugas 2 toda cousa q*ue* for uelha dem 2 ent*re*guem. q*u*ando receberem anoua. (m) Aq*ue*lles q*ue* enviam afora do mosteyro encaminho. recebam panos meores da casa da uestiaria. 2 q*u*ando se tomarem. entreguem nos hy lauados. (n) E as cugulas 2 as sayas q*ue* leuarem. sejam q*u*anto q*ue*r melhores huu*m* pouco q*ue* as outras q*ue* usam atrageR. (o) As q*u*ááes recebam da uestiaria os q*ue* houuere*m* de andar caminho. 2 depoys q*ue* veerem. entreguem nas. (p) Per aestrame*n*tos deRoupas dos leytos. abastem acadahuu*m* monge. hu*m*a manta 2 huu*m* almadraq*ue* 2 hu*m*a cuberta. 2 huu*m* cabeçal. os quaaes leytos em-

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p*er*ó. sejam ameúde sooldrinhados do abbade. por la obra do pegulho 2 do p*ro*prio. ne*m* p*e*lla uentura seja

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CAP. LXXV achado. (q) E se áálguum for achada alguma cousa que lhe oabbade non desse. seja posto áá muy graue disciplina. (r) Epor tal que este peccado de pegulho 2 de propriedade seja de todo en todo tirado 2 talhado de Rayz. de Oabbade aos monges todalas cousas necessarias. conuem assaber. acugula. assy as pehúgas. as calças. obragueyro. ocutello.o stillo. áágulha. atoalha. as tauoas por tal que toda escusaçon de necessidade seja tirada. (s) Peró. oabbade sempre consíjre aquella sentença dos autos dos apostolos. naqual diz que era dado acadahuum. assi como acadahuum complía. (t) Assi poys. 2 oabbade consíjre as jnfirmidades 2 necessidades dos minguados 2 dos que ham mester. 2 non amáá uoontade dos envejosos. (u) Emperó entodolos seus juyzos cuyde 2 pense ogualardon de deus.

CAP. LXXVI. (Red) Damesa do abbade.

(a) A (Black) mesa do. abbade seja sempre conperegrijns (spatium) 2 con hospedes. (b) E quando hy non houuer hospedes. enpoderio do abbade seja. chamar dos frayres quááes elle quiser. (c) Peró. sempre procure que leixe huum ou dous anciaanos con os frayres. por disciplina 2 ensinança 2 por guarda da ordem.

CAP. LXXVII. (Red) Dos mesteyrááes do mosteyro.

(a) (Blue) S (Black) e forem no mosteyro frayres mesteyrááes que sabam laurar 2 obrar de artes 2 demesteres. façam 2 obrem essas artes con toda humildade.(per, ras.) se lhe o abbade mandar 2 der lecença. (b) E se alguum delles se aleuantar ensoberua por la sciencia 2 saber da sua arte. poR quanto véé que faz alguum proueyto ao mosteyro. (c) Este tal seja tirado 2 priuado dessa arte. 2 desyadeante non passe mays por ella. saluo se se humildar .2 o abbade condecabo lhe mandar que use de sua arte. (d) Mas se alguma cousa das obras. dos mesteyrááes for pera vender. uejam esses por cujas maanos. ham depassar 2 se ham deuendeR. que non presumam nem ousem defazer .engano nehuum. (e) Nembrem se sempre de ananía 2

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de saphira. nem per uentura. amorte que elles padecerom nos corpos. aquesta padeçam nas almas estes 2 todos

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CAP. LXXVII aq*ue*lles q*ue* alguu*m* engano fezerem nas cousas domosteyro. (f) E en esses preços 2 ualía dessas cousas q*ue* houuerem deuender. no*n* soentre ne*m* chegue hy omal 2 opeccado da auareza 2 da cobíjça. mas semp*re* sejam dadas 2 uendidas por menos p*re*ço q*ua*ntoq*ue*r. q*ue* as cousas dos segráães. por tal q*ue* en todalas cousas de*us* seja glorificado 2 louuado.

CAP. LXXVIII. (Red) Como deuem receber os frayres nouicios: (a) Q (Black) uando alguu*m* vééR nouamente do mundo ao mosteyro p*er*a seruír ade*us*. no*n* lhe seja logo deligeyro outorgada a entrada. mas p*ri*meyro oprouem. assi como diz oapostolo. (b) Prouade os spiritus se uéém da parte de de*us*. (c) Epore*m* de oq*ue* assi uéér áás portas do mosteyro. se p*er*seuerar batendo. 2 roga*n*do q*ue* o recebam. 2 uirem q*ue* el soffre co*n* paciencia as jnjurias q*ue* lhe forem feytas 2 ditas p*er*ao prouar. 2 acareza 2 negame*n*to do Recebeme*n*to. 2 q*ue* p*er*seuéra 2 stá fírme na sua petiçon. de poys de q*ua*tro ou cinco dias. seja lhe outorgada aentrada. 2 seja nacella dos hospedes huu*m*s poucos de dias. (d) E depoys seja posto na cella dos nouiços. hu lea 2 pense en boas cousas. 2 coma 2 dorma. (e) E seja lhe dado huu*m* anciaa*n*o. detodo entodo entenda 2 oolhe sobre elle co*n* muyto cuydado. 2 seja solicito 2 diligente p*er*a conhecer 2 saber del. se uerdadeyrame*n*te busca 2 demanda de*us*. 2 se he solicito 2 aguiçoso áá obra de de*us* 2 áá obediencia. 2 aos doestos 2 jnjurias. (f) Sejam lhe p*re*egadas as cousas duras 2 asp*er*as p*or*las q*uá*áes ha dhir ao regno de de*us*. (g) E se p*ro*meter p*er*seue*ra*nça da sua firmeza. 2 do seu firme p*ro*posito. seja lhe leuda aq*ue*sta regla toda p*or*ordem depoys de do*us* meses. 2 digam lhe. (h) Uęs. esta he a ley so aqual tu queres uiue*r* 2 lidar. se apodes guardar. entra. 2 se no*n* podes parte te 2 vayte liure. (i) E se ajnda steue*r* 2 p*er*seuerar no seu p*ro*posito. estonce traga*m* no. (in ras., áá sob*re*dita) cella dos nouiços. 2 co*n*decabo seja prouado entoda paciencia. (k) E depoys de sex meses. seja lhe out*ra* uez leuda esta regla. p*er*a saber aq*ue*llo aq*ue* entra. (l) E se ajn-

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da p*er*seuéra 2 sta no seu p*ro*posito. seja lhe out*ra* uez leuda depoys dequatro meses. esta. medes Regla. (m)

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CAP. LXXVIII E hauudo e feyto con sigo o deliberamento 2 conselho. se prometer aguardar todalas cousas. 2 afazer 2 guardar todalas cousas que lhe forem encomendadas. estonce seja recebido na congregaçon. sabendo por certo. que ja he stabelecido 2 posto. so aley da regla. 2 ja des aquelle dia non lhe conuem. saíR do mosteyro. nem sacudir 2 tíraR oseu collo de so o jugo da regla. aqual so tam perlongada deliberaçon podera escusar. 2 leixar (n) O que houuer desséér Recebido. faça no oratorio prometimento da sua stabeleza 2 firmidoone perdante todos. 2 do conuertimento 2 mudamento dos seus custumes 2 da sua obediencia perdante deus 2 os seus santos por tal que se peruentura en alguum tempo el fezer o contrayro. saba por certo que sera condennado de deus. doqual escarnece. (o) Do qual seu prometimento. faça huma petiçon en nome dos santos dos quááes hy som hauudas 2 postas reliquias. 2 en nome do abbade que hy foR presente. (p) Aqual petiçon esse nouiço screua con sua maano. ou certamente se non sabe leteras. outro que el Rogar. a escreua. 2 aquel nouiço faça en ella oseu signal 2 con asua maano aponha sobre oaltar. (q) E depoys que aposer. comece esse nouiço logo. aqueste uerso. (r) Suscipe me domine secundum eloquium tuum 2 uiuam. et ne confundas me abexpectatione mea. (s) Oqual uerso repeta toda a congregaçon por tres uezes. ajuntando lhe. gloria patri. (t) E entón esse frayre nouiço. deyte se aos péés de cadahuum dos monges que Roguem adeus por elle. (u) E ja des aquel dia endeante seja contado 2 hauudo en no conto da congregaçon. (v) E se houuer beems ou algumas cousas. de as primeyramente aos proues. ou faça dellas doaçon solennemente. 2 de as ao mosteyro. non guardando ne leixando de todas essas cousas. cousa nehuma pera sy. oqual certamente saba que des aquel dia non hauera poder. oseu corpo proprio. (w) Epor esto logo no oratorio seja desvestido das cousas proprias. das quááes he (XXVIII Ro.)
uestido. 2 uestam no. das cousas do mosteyro. (x) Mas aquellas uestiduras. de que o deuestem. sejam postas enguarda na casa da uestiaria. pera que. se el en alguum tempo consentár ao engano 2 conselho do diabóó. que se saya domosteyro. oque deus non mande. estonce

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CAP. LXXVIII desvestam no das cousas do mosteyro 2 lancem no fora. (y) Peró aq*ue*lla petiçon q*ue* o abbade leuou de sobre oaltar. no*n* lhe seja dada. mas seja guardada no mosteyro.

CAP. LXXIX. (Red) Como deuem séér recebidos os filhos dos Ricos 2 os dos proues áá profisson.
(a) S (Black) e pella uentura alguu*m* dos grandes 2 nobles offerece 2 da Oseu filho ade*us* no mosteyro. se esse moço he de meor ydade. o padre 2 amadre del. façam apetiçon. aq*u*al suso dissemos. (b) E con offerta 2 oblada. essa petiçon 2 a maa*n*o do moço enuoluam na palla do altar 2 assy o offereçam ade*us*. (c) Elogo na p*re*sente petiçon prometam so juramento. q*ue* das suas cousas. p*or* sy ne*m* p*or* outra p*er*soa ne*m* p*er* nehu*m*a maneyra en alguu*m* tempo. nunca lhe dem cousa nehu*m*a. ne*m* ocasyon ne*m* áázo dehauue*r*. (d) Ou certame*n*te se esto faz*er* no*n* quiserem. 2 algu*m*a cousa quiserem offerecer 2 dar ao mosteyro en esmola por ben das suas almas. façam das cousas q*ue* que*r*em dar. doaçon ao mosteyro. (e) Reseruando p*or* assy. se o assy fazer quiserem. ho usu dos frutos ensua uida. (f) E assy todalas cousas sejamençarradas 2 ordenadas. q*ue* nehu*m*a suspééyço*n* ne*m* ocasyon. no*n* fiq*ue* ao moço p(e)lla qual el enganado. oq*ue* de*us* no*n* mande. possa p*ar*ecer. aq*u*al cousa ja ap*r*endemos 2 uímos p*or*, exp*er*iencia. (g) E p*or* esta medes guisa façam os mays proues. (h) Mas aq*ue*lles q*ue* detodo no*n* ham cousa nehu*m*a. simplezmente façam apetiçon. 2 co*n* offerta offereçam seu filho p*er* dante testimunhas.

CAP. LXXX. (Red) Dos sacerdotes q*ue* quiserem morar no mosteyro.
(a) (Blue) S (Black) e alguu*m* da ordem dos sac*er*dotes Rogar. q*ue* oRecebam no mosteyro. no*n* lhe seja logo outorgado tan cedo. (b) Peró se el detodo entodo steu*er* 2 p*er*seuerar en aq*ue*sta supplicaço*n*. seja lhe outorgado. 2 saba p*or* certo. q*ue* ha deguardar toda
(XXVIII Vo.)
adisciplina 2 doutrína da regla. 2 q*ue* nehu*m*a causa della no*n* lhe sera suxada ne*m* relaxada. p*er*a séér feyto assy como he scripto. (c) Amigo aq*ue* uééste? (d)

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CAP. LXXX Seja lhe empero outorgado estár logo depoys do abbade 2 deytar beençoones. 2 missas (spatium) cantar 2 téér. empero se lhe oabbade encommendar. (e) En outra maneyra non. presuma nem seja ousado de fazer cousa nehuma. sabendo que he obligado 2 sogeyto ao disciplina 2 ensinança daRegla. 2 deue dedar exemplos de mays humildade 2 de santidade atodos. (f) E se pella uentura fala ou conselho de alguum ordenamento ou de alguma outra cousa se fezer no mosteyro. esguarde 2 attenda aquel logar 2 grááo que houue quando entrou no mosteyro. 2 non aquel que lhe foy dado 2 outorgado por reuerenca 2 honra do sacerdotio. (g) Mas se alguum dos cléérigos ordinados. de outras ordeems. con este meésmo desejo quiser que o recebam no mosteyro. seja alogado 2 posto en logar 2 grááo meo 2 pertéécente ael. 2 esto emperó se ele prometer aguardaras obseruancias 2 mandamentos da regla 2 perseuerar no mosteyro. en seu proposito 2 desejo firmemente.

CAP. LXXXI. (Red) Dos monges peregríjm(s) como deuem séér recebidos no mosteyro.˙.

(a) S (Black) e alguum monge peregrín véér delongas terras. 2 por hospede quiser morar no mosteyro 2 se contentar do usu 2 custume do logar que achar. 2 non con sua sobegidoone pella uentura toruaR omosteyro mas simplezmente hecontento. daquelo que acha. seja recebido quanto tempo quíser. (b) E se el certamente con Razon 2 con humildade de caridade Reprehender algumas cousas. traute o abbade sagesmente. se pella uentura aesta medés causa o enviasse onosso senhor. (c) Mas se depoys el quiser fírmar a sua stabeleza 2 perseuerança 2 fazer aprofisson. non lhe seja negada tal uoontade. 2 mayormente que no tempo da hospitalidade poderom ben conhecer asua uida. (d) E se no tempo da sua hospitalidade for achado sobejo ou uicioso 2 de maaos custumes. non sóómente non odeuem de Receber. áá sociedade 2 companhia da congregaçon do mosteyro. mas certamente seja lhe dito honestamente. que se departa 2 que se uáá en boa hora. nem peruentura porla sua mizquíjndade 2

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peccados. os outros sejam uiciados 2 corrumpidos. (e)

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CAP. LXXXI E se non for tal que mereça desséér lançado fora. non tansóómente seja recebido 2 posto 2 ajuntado áá congregaçon se o el pedir 2 demandar. mas ajnda seja lhe dito 2 rogado. que sté. por tal que os outros por exemplo del aprendam 2 sejam doutrinados 2 ensinados. 2 que non haja temor de estár. ca en todo logar a huum senhor seruimos 2 ahuum Rey fazemos seruíços de batalhas 2 lides spirituáães. (f) Oqual monge peregrin se o abbade uír que he tal podeo outrossy poér en mays alto logar 2 gráão ja quanto (g) E non tansóómente omonge peregrin 2 strangeyro. mas ajnda outro qualquer dos sobreditos gráãos dos sacerdotes ou dos cléérigos pode o abbade stabelecer 2 poer en mayor logar 2 gráão. que aquel enque entra. se uír que a sua uida he tal que o merece. (h) Mas cauide se 2 guarde se muyto oabbade. que nunca receba monge doutro mosteyro conhecido pera morar no seu. sen consentimento do seu abbade. ou sen leteras de encommenda. por que scripto he. (i) Non faras aoutrem. oque non querías que te fezessem.

CAP. LXXXII. (Red) Dos sacerdotes do mosteyro.

(a) (Blue) S (Black) e alguum abbade pedir que lhe ordinem sacerdote ou de euangelho. tome 2 escolha el dos seus aquel que seja digno pera vsar do sacerdocio. (b) Mas oque for ordinado guarda se do argulho 2 aleuantamento da uaan gloria 2 da soberua. nem presuma nem ouse defazer cousa nehuma. saluo aquello que lhe oabbade encommendar. sabendo por certo que he muyto mays sogeyto 2 obligado áá disciplina 2 doutrina da regla. (c) E nem por ocasyon 2 áázo do sacerdocio. non se esquééça da obediencia 2 da disciplina 2 ensinança daregla. mas aproueyte mays 2 mays endeus. crescendo deben enmelhor. (d) E sempre attenda 2 esguarde aquel logar 2 gráão no qual entrou no mosteyro. saluo o officio do altar. ajnda que pella uentura a enleyçon da congregaçon 2 a uoontade do abbade. por lo merecimento da sua uida oqueyra promouer amays alto gráão. (e) O qual empero saba. que ha deguardar a Regla que lhe por los seus decanos 2 curadores ou porlos prepositos 2 priores móóres for stabelecida 2 encommendada. (f) E se per outra guisa presumir defazer. ja estonce

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CAP. LXXXII non por sacerdote. mas por rebel 2 soberuoso seja julgado. (g) E se por muytas uezes for amoestado 2 non se quiser correger nem emendar. seja ajnda requerido 2 tragido obispo entestimunho. (h) E se nem assy non se quise emendar. poys que os seus peccados som publicados 2 manifestos. seja lançado fora do mosteyro. emperó se tal for a sua contumacia 2 soberua. que se non queyra sojugar 2 humildar nem obedeceer áá regla.

CAP. LXXXIII. (Red) Das ordeems dos grááos dos da con- gregaçon.·.

(a) O (Black) s monges assy guardem suas ordeems Dos grááos no mosteyro. como entraron. na ordem. 2 segundo demostrar 2 demandar o merecimento dauida. 2 assy como oabbade estabelecer. (b) O qual abbade non torue agrey 2 companha ael cometida. nem faça nem ordene cousa nehuma non dereytamente 2 como non deue. vsando assi como de poderio libre 2 absoluto. mas sempre cuyde que detodolos seus juyzos 2 obras. ha dedar razon adeus. (c) Poys por esto segundo as ordeems dos grááos que o abbade stabelecer. ou segundo os que esses frayres houuerem. assy se acheguem áápaz. 2 aa comunhon. 2 áá leuantaR o salmo. 2 a estár no choro. (d) E de todo entodo .entodolos logares a. ydade non seja estremada nem esguardada na ordem dos grááos. nem faça perjuyzo. por que samuel 2 daniel moços. julgaron os uelhos. (e) E por esto. tirados aquestes os quááes assi como ja dissemos. oabbade con grande 2 mays alto conselho exalçar 2 poser en mays alto grááo. ou degradar 2 abaixar. por algumas certas Razoones. desy todolos outros. assi como uééron áá ordem. assy sejam 2 stem en seus grááos: (f) Verbi gracia. (g) Aquel que véér ao mosteyro. na segunda hora do dia. conheça que he mays juniór 2 mays pequeno na ordem. que aquel que uéo na primeyra hora do dia. de qualquer ydade 2 dignidade ou condiçon que el seja. (h) Os moços entodalas cousas sejam doutrinados 2 castigados de todos. (i) Eporende. os juniores honrem os seus priores. 2 os priores amem os seus junfores. (k) E en esse chamamento dos nomes. nehuum non chame outro por seu nome puro sóómente sen outro enhadimento. mas os priores chamem os seus juniores. fratres jrmaanos. 2 juniores chamem

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os seus priores. nonnos. enque se entende reuerencia de padre. (l) Mas oabbade porque créémos que el ten as uezes 2 logar de jhesu christo. seja chamado dom abbade. non por tomar el este nome por sy. mas por honra 2 amor de ihesu christo. seja assy chamado. (m) E esse abbade cuyde 2 pense assy se componha 2 apparelhe. que seja digno detal honra. (n) E huquer que os frayres se encontrarem huums aos outros o jeiunior peça abeençon ao seu prior. (o) E quando omáyor passar por hu seuer o meor. leuante se omeor 2 delhe logar que seja. (p) E non presuma nem ouse ojunior de se assééntar. saluo se lho mandar o seu anciaano. pera seer feyto 2 complido o que he scripto. (q) Honrade uos huums os outros. (r) Os moços pqeuenos 2 os mancebos. na egreja 2 as mesas con disciplina guardem suas ordeems. (s) Mas fora ou enqualquer logar hajam guarda 2 disciplina atáá que uenham ahydade de entendimento.

CAP. LXXXIV. (Red) Como 2 de quááes persoas deue oabbade séér feyto 2 ordenado.

(a) (Blue) E (Black) nna ordenaçon do abbade sempre seja consíjrada aquella Razon que aquel seja stabelecido 2 feyto abbade. oqual pera sy toda acompanha da congregaçon segundo otemor de deus. ou certamente aquel que huma parte da congregacon enleger con mays saano conselho. ajnda que seja pequena. (b) E o que houuer desséér ordenado 2 feyto abbade. seja enlegido por merecimento de uída 2 por doutrina de sabedoria. posto que seja o mays postumeyro da congregaçon na ordem. (c) E se certamente toda acongregaçon o que deus non mande. enlegerem. todos enhuum conselho tal persoa que consenta 2 de logar aos seus uicios 2 peccados. 2 esses peccados per alguma maneyra véérem en noticia do bispo acujo bispado pertééce esse logar. ou forem notificados 2 demostrados aos. abbades ou aos cristaanos uezinhos defendam 2 façam que non ualha o consentimento dos mááos. 2 ordenem 2 stabeleçam áá casa de deus. huum boom 2 digno dispensador 2 regedor sabendo por certo que por esto receberám de deus boom galardon 2 boa mercéé. se esto fezerem castamente 2 con zeo 2 amor de deus. assicomo 2 porlo contrayro hauerám

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CAP. LXXXIV peccado sees to desprezarem 2 onon quererem fazer. (c) Mas oque for ordenado 2 feyto abbade cuyde sempre qual en-

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carrego recebeo 2 aquem ha dedar conto 2 razón da sua ministraçon 2 cura. (d) E saba que mays lhe compre de aprofeytar .que de se assenhorar. (e) Poys pera esto lhe conuem desséér ensinado na ley dedeus 'que saba 2 seja 2 haja en el. onde diga 2 ensine aos seus discipulos as cousas nouas 2 as uelhas (rasura). (f) Deue outro sy séér casto 2 temperado 2 honesto. (g) Misericordioso. humildoso. 2 sempre exalce amisericordia no juyzo. portal que a sega el. 2 ache ante deus. (h) Auorreça 2 entege os uicios 2 peccados. ame os frayres. (i) E en essa correyçon. dos frayres haja se 2 faça sagesmente 2 discretamente. 2 non queyra muyto castigar mays que compre. nem pella uentura querendo Raer 2 tirar aferrugem mays que deue quebrante o uaso. (k) E sempre seja suspeyto attendendo 2 consíjrando a sua fraqueza 2 que he homem fraco. 2 que ou ja cayo empeccado. ou pode cayr assy poderá conhecer como faça aos outros misericordia. (l) Outro sy nembre se do dito do propheta no qual diz. que a canna amehude abalada 2 ferida. non deue de séér mays quebrantada (m) Nas quááes cousas non dizemos nem damos exemplos. que oabbade leyxe criar os uicios 2 peccados. mas sagesmente condiscriçon 2 con caridade. os talhe 2 castigue. assi como el melhor uír que comple 2 conuem acadahuum. assi como ja dissemos. (n) E éstude 2 trabalhe de séér mays amado que temido. (o) Non seja turbulento. 2 tristón 2 spantoso no uultu nem coytoso. (p) Non seja sobejo 2 muyto deuoontade nem obstinado 2 2 duro. (q) Non seja zeloso 2 muyto suspeytoso assi nas cousas spirituááes come nas temporááes. por que nunca folgará. (r) En esses seus mandamentos 2 jmperios. seja ben prouisto 2 sages 2 discreto. queR segundo deus. quer segundo omundo. (s) E as obras que el mandar fazer departáás 2 determinhe 2 tempere as con descriçon. consíjrando 2 cuydando a descriçon daquel santo homem: Jacob. que disse. (t) Se as minhas greys 2 ouelhas fezer mays trabalhar en andar do que lhes comple. morreram todas enhuum dia. (u) Poys. estes

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CAP. LXXXIV 2 outros exemplos da descriçon madre das uirtudes tome oabadde. 2 assy tempére todalas cousas. q*ue* os saa*n*os 2 fortes sejam aq*ue*lles q*ue* cubíjcem 2 desegem a fazeR

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2 os fracos 2 enfermos no*n* refugam ne*m* se aRedem da obra q*ue* lhes for encomendada. (v) E sobre todalas cousas mandamos q*ue* oabbade guarde esta presente regla. q*ue* q*u*ando el ben ministrar 2 reger ouça do senhor. assi como oboo*m* seruo q*ue* ministrou 2 deu. o tríjgo 2 mantíjme*n*to aos se*us* co*n*seruos enno seu tempo. (w) Uerdade uos digo. diz. q*ue* sobre todolos se*us* bee*m*s o establecerá

CAP. LXXXV. (Red) Do preposito 2 prior de toda a congregaço*n* do mosteyro.

(a) M (Black) uytas uezes certame*n*te acontece q*ue* po*r*la ordenaçon do p*r*eposto de toda acongregaço*n*. nascem 2 se aleuantam graues scandalos nos mosteyros. q*u*ando acontece q*ue* som alguu*m*s p*r*epostos jnchados de spiritu mááo de soberua. q*ue* pensam 2 cuydam q*ue* som segundos abbades: tomando pe*r*a sy honra 2 senhorio detirannaria 2 decrueldade criam scandalos. 2 fazem aRoydos 2 departime*n*tos enna cong*r*egaçon. 2 mayormente en aq*ue*lles logares. hu desse méésmo sacerdote 2 bispo. ou desses méésmos abbades q*ue* ordinam oabbade. desses he o p*r*eposto ordenado. (b) Aq*u*al cousa q*u*anto ensy seja contrayra 2 máá deligeyro muyto asinha se pode conhecer 2 entender. (c) Por q*ue* logo desse começo da ordenaçon. lhe he dada mate*r*ia 2 ocasyon de ensoberbecer. q*u*ando as suas cuydacoo*n*es lhe mostram 2 fazem téér. q*ue* he fora 2 líure do poderio do seu abbade. por q*u*anto desses méésmos he ordenado. dos q*u*aaes he oabbade. (d) E daq*ui* se aleuantam 2 nascem. enuejas. iras. batalhas. detraymentos 2 maldizeres vyainças. (corr. ma— s. XV) departime*n*tos. 2 aRoydos 2 desordenacoo*n*es. assi q*ue* q*u*ando oabbade 2 op*r*eposto se sentem 2 som co*n*trayros assi méésmos. 2 aq*ue*llo q*ue* oabbade ordena. op*r*eposto desordena forçada cousa he. q*ue* so tal discordia 2 departime*n*to as almas delles andem emperigóó. 2 aq*ue*stes q*ue* so elles som sogeytos. enlouuaminha*n*do 2 plazenteando áás partes. vaa*m* se

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CAP. LXXXV aperdiçon. (e) O mal deste perigóó se torna 2 esguarda ááquelles que de táães cousas en na ordenaçon se fezeron autores 2 ordenadores. (f) Eporende nos agora uéémos perao depoys que compre 2 pertééce por guarda da paz 2 da caridade. que no poderio 2 aluidro do abbade penda 2 seja toda aordenaçon do seu

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mosteyro. (g) E se poder séeR. todo oproueyto do mosteyro 2 amministraçon seja ordenado 2 partido. assi como ja ordenamos 2 stabelecemos. por decanos 2 curadores. pella guisa que o abbade ordenar 2 mandar. que quando á ministraçon do mosteyro for cometida amuytos. huum non ensoberuecerá nem hauerá razon de se leuantar enbandoria. (h) Mas se ologar requerer 2 houuer mester preposto. ou toda acongregaçon opedír Razoauilmente 2 con humildade. 2 o abbade fulgar 2 vír que comple. ordene 2 stabeleça enpreposto qualquer que el elegeR con conselho dos frayres que temerem deus. (i) O qual preposto faça con Reuerencia aquellas cousas que lhe forem encommendadas de seu abbade. (k) Non faça cousa nehuma contra uoontade 2 ordenaçon do abbade. por que quanto mays hé prelado 2 príor sobre todolos outros. tanto lhe mays conuen 2 pertééce guardar conmuyto studo 2 cuydado os preceptos 2 mandamentos da regla. (l) O qual preposto se for achado uicioso 2 mááo. ou enganado por argulho 2 aleuantamento de soberua ou desprezador da santa regla. seja amoestado por palauras . atáá quatro uezes. 2 se non se quiser emendar. façam en el acorreyçon que manda adisciplina 2 ensínança da regla. (m) E se nem assy. non se correger 2 emendar. estonce seja lançado fora 2 tirado do officio 2 da ordem depreposto 2 deprior. 2 outro que digno for. seja posto 2 sta-belecido en seu logo. (n) E se depoys desto. non for manso 2 humildoso 2 obediente na congregaçon. lancem no fora do mosteyro. (o) Emperó oabbade cuyde 2 pense que detodolos seus juyzos ha dedar conto 2 Razon adeus. nem pella uentura achama 2 fogo da enueja ou do maáo zeo 2 da máá uoontade tanga 2 queyme a sua alma.

CAP. LXXXVI. (Red) Dos porteyros da porta do mosteyro. (a) (Blue) A (Black) aporta do mosteyro seja posto

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CAP. LXXXVI huum uelho anciaano sabedor. que saba receber 2 dar resposta. 2 recado aos que chegarem: oqual seja de táães custumes 2 assessegado que non ande uagando. (b) O qual porteyro deue detéér huma cella acerca da porta. por tal que os que uéérem. sempre achem presente de quem

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recebam 2 hajam resposta. (c) E logo como alguem bater. ou alguum proue chamar 2 bráádar áá porta. responda 2 diga. graças a deus. ou béénza adeus . 2 diga benedictus deus. 2 con toda mansidoone de temor dedeus .de. muyto asinha Resposta con feruor de caridade (d) Aoqual porteyro seja dado-huum frayre mancebo. se houuer mester parceyro que o ajude. (e) Mas omosteyro. se poder séér. pertal guisa deue séér edificado 2 fundado. que todalas cousas necessarias. conuem assaber. aagua. omaynho. aorta. o forno. 2 as outras artes desuayradas quááesquer. dentro no mosteyro sejam feytas 2 husadas. por tal que non seja necessidade aos monges monges deuagar 2 andar fora do mosteyro. por que de todo en todo non pertéécene he proueyto áás suas almas. (f) E queremos que aquesta regla. seja leuda por muytas uezes na congregaçon. por tal que nehuum frayre non se escuse por non saber.

CAP. LXXXVII. (Red) Dos frayres enViados perandar caminho.

(a) O (Black) s frayres que houuerem de enuiar (spatium) per andar caminho. encommende se na oraçon de todolos frayres. ou na do abbade que roguem adeus por elles. (b) E sempre na postumeyra colleyta da obra de deus seja feyta commemoraçon de todolos frayres que non som hy presentes. (c) E quando se tornarem os frayres 2 uéérem de caminho. en esse dia que se tornam 2 chegam ao mosteiro. por todalas horas canonicas quando se acaba a obra de deus. deytados no chaáno do oratorio peçam atodos que roguem adeus por elles. porlos caymentos 2 desfalecimentos. nem pella uentura. lhes auéésse 2 acontecesse no caminho. alguma causa máá que uissem ou ouvissem. ou falassem alguma palaura ociosa. (d) Nen presuma nem ouse nehuum Recontar aoutro nehuma daquellas cousas que uír ou ouuír fora domosteiro quáá-

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CAP. LXXXVII esquer que ellas sejam. por que esto he grande destruyçon da ordem. (e) E se alguum presumir 2 ousar de fazer esto. seja castigado con a disciplina da regla. (f) E esso méésmo façam ááquel que presumir a saír da claustra do mosteyro. ou hyr pera qualquer logar que seja. ou fazer alguma cousa ajnda que seja pequena. sen mandado do abbade
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CAP. LXXXVIII. (Red) Dos frayres aque encomendam algumas cousas graues 2 que elles non podem fazer.
(a) (Blue) S (Black) e pella uentura ááalguum frayre encommendam algumas cousas graues. ou que el no possa fazer. todauía receba omandamento daquel que lho encomenda. con toda mansidoone 2 con toda obediencia. (b) E se detodo entodo el uír que o pésume do encarrego sobrepoja amensura 2 quantidade das suas forças. diga 2 demostre conuinhauilmente 2 conpaciencia. ao seu mayor. as razoones da sua fraqueza 2 do seu non poder. non ensoberuecendo nem contradizendo. (c) E se depoys que el demostre ao seu mayor a sua fraqueza. 2 o encomendamento 2 mandamento doprior durar 2 steuer en sua sentença 2 non aquiser reuagar. seba o junior 2 subdito que assy lhe conuen obedecer. 2 de caridade confiando do ajudoyro de deus obedéézça.

CAP. LXXXIX. (Red) Que enno mosteyro nehuum non seja ousado de deffender huum outro.
(a) C (Black) ousa pera esquíuar 2 cauidar muyto he que nehuum monge por ocasión. 2 áázo nehuum que seja non. presuma nem seja ousado de defender outro monge no mosteyro. nem poer se emparamento por elle. ajnda que sejam muyto achegados por qual queR achegamento de parentesco. (b) E per nehuma maneyra os monges non presumam nem ousem de fazer. esto. por que desto pode nacer muy graue cajon 2 ázo de escandalos. (c) E se alguum traspassar aquestas cousas seja asperamente castigado.·.

CAP. XC. (Red) Por tal que non presuma nem seja ousado huum ferir outro.·.
(a) (Blue) S (Black) eja uedado 2 cauidado. no mosteyro.

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CAP. XC o áázo 2 cajon de toda máá presumpçon. (b) Epera esto ordenamos 2 stabelecemos que anehuum monge non conuenha de escomungar nehuum dos seus jrmaanos. nem ferír. saluo ááquel aque oabbade der poder. (c) Mas os que peccarem. perdante todos sejam reprehendidos 2 castigados. por tal que os outros hajam medo. (d) Aos moços pequenos. atáá oquínto decimo anno da sua ydade seja feyta muyta diligencia de disciplina 2 ensinança. 2 hajam guarda de todos. mas 2 aquesto con toda mesura 2 razon. (spatium). (e) Ca en os
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de mayor ydade aquel que presumir 2 ousar de alançar maano 2 os ferir per alguma maneyra. sen mandado de seu abbade. ou ajnda en esses moços pequenos con sanha 2 sen discreçon poser maanos. seja posto ááadisciplina 2 castigo da regla. por que scripto he. (f) Non faças aoutrem oque tu non querias que te fezessem.

CAP. XCI. (Red) De como os monges deuem séér obedientes assi méésmos. huums aoutros 2 primeyro ao abbade 2 aos prepostos.
(a) O (Black) ben da obediencia. non tansóómente deue séér feyto ao abbade. mas ajnda os frayres assi méésmos obedééçam. huums aos outros. sabendo que por aquesta carreyra de obediencia elles iram ao regno de deus. (b) Epoys por esto. feyto 2 complido antes oencomendamento 2 mandamento do abbade 2 o dos prepostos que el stabelece 2 ordena. oqual encomendamento non damos logar. que seja leixado por nehuum dos outros encomendamentos priuados des hy adeante todolos junfores obedéécam aos seus priores con toda caridade 2 con toda diligencia 2 cuydado. (c) E se alguum for achado contencioso 2 desprezador desto. seja castigado. (d) Mas se alguum frayre for castigado ou reprehendido de seu abbade por qualquer causa ajnda que seja muy pequena. ou for ajnda reprehendido 2 castigado de qualquer dos seus priores 2 anciaanos per qualquer maneyra. ou se sentir o coraçon dequalquer seu prior. irado leuemente contra sy. ou mouido 2 toruado. ajnda que seja muy pouco. logo muyto asinha sen detardança se alcance ante os péés delle. 2 jaça tan perlongadamente strado 2 derribado enterra satisfazendo 2 pedindo uenia 2

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CAP. XCI perdon. atáá que porbéénçon se lhe váá aquel mouimento 2 toruamento do seu coraçon. (e) E se alguum desprezar 2 non quiser esto fazer. seja posto áá vingança corporal de jeſuums 2 deferidas. ou se tanto for contumaz 2 soberuoso 2 reuel que ennehuma maneyra non se queira humildar. estonce seja (ras., 1. lt.) lançado fora do mosteyro.

CAP. XCII. (Red) Do zeo boom que deuem hauer os monges: (a) (Blue) A (Black) ssi como ha hy zeo mááo de amargura 2 de peccado que aparta os homeems de deus 2 leua os ao jnferno. assi ha hy

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zeo 2 desejo boom que quíta 2 aparta os homeems dos uicios 2 dos peccados 2 das maldades 2 trage os adeus 2 leua os áá uida perdurauil. (b) Poys aqueste zeo 2 desejo usem os monges con muy feruente amor. conuen assaber. que se honrem huums os outros. 2 sopportem muyto pacientemente as suas jnfirmidades huums aos outros. assi dos corpos come dos custumes. 2 sejam huums aoutros obedientes deuotamente 2 de boom coraçon. (c) Nehuum non sigua nem faça. aquello que que assi méésmo aprouguer 2 iulgar que he proueytoso. mas antes aquello que aoutrem prouguer 2 for proueytoso. (d) Hajam caridade de germaydade 2 amem se assi como jrmaanos con boom amor 2 casto 2 sen malicia. (e) Temam deus 2 amem o seu abbade con pura 2 limpa 2 humildosa caridade. (f) Non posponham por cousa nehuma. ihesu christo. oqual nos leue todos juntamente áá uida perdurauil AmeN.

CAP. XCIII. (Red) De como non he posto nem stabelecido en esta regla o guardamento de toda iustiça 2 uirtude de perfeyçon

(a) A (Black) questa regla ditamos 2 screuemos por tal que nos guardando a en nos mosteyros. mostremos que hauemos per alguma maneyra honestidade debooms custumes. ou alguum começo de boa conuersaçon 2 de ben uiuer. (b) Mas peraaquel que se trabalha 2 quer vijnr aaperfeyçon de boa conuersaçon 2 da boa uida. som muytas doutrinas 2 ensinanças dos santos padres. o guardamento das quááes aduz 2 trage o homem áálteza da

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CAP. XCIII perfeyçon. (c) Equal he a santa scriptura. ou qual he apalaura da autoridade de deus. do testamento uelho 2 do nouo. que non seja regla muy dereyta da uida 2 do regimento do homem? (d) Ouqual he oliuro dos santos catholicos padres. que aquesto non diga conuen assaber. que por carreyra. dereyta de boa uida 2 de booms custumes uenhamos ao nosso criador? (e) Ajnda mays. 2 as collaçoons 2 os statutos 2 as uidas dos santos padres. 2 a Regla de nosso padre san basilio. que outra cousa som. se non exemplos 2 instrumentos de uirtudes. dos monges obedientes 2 que ben uiuem? (f) Mas anos preguiçosos 2 neglegen

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[tes] 2 que mal uíuemos som estas cousas uergonça 2 confusion. (g) Epor esto qualquer que tu es, que te trabalhas pera víjnr ao regno dos cééos. comple 2 guarda con áájuda de ihesu christo. haquesta muy pequetínha regla. aqual non he ajnda se non começo. 2 estonce depoys víjnras con oajudoyro de deus áás móóres cousas da doutrina 2 ensinança 2 áás móóres altezas das uirtudes. as quááes acima dissemos.

(Red) Explicit secunda expositio jn regulam sancti benedicti in romancio exarata solicite jntellectu. Lingua. manu pariter laborantibus aquodam monacho. proferendo dethesauro Jntellectus sui quantum ualebat 2 sua fragilitas eum sinebat. textum dicte regule Jntelligere 2 exponere. demandato domni fernandi abbatis alcobacie.

Over the word *monacho* of this Explicit a much later hands adds in black ink, martino de aliubarrota nominato. Furthermore, in the margin is a probatio pennae dess arra, and below the explicit another, aporta taua.

Fol. XXXIV Vo.:

Deus cuius miseratione anime fidelium requiescunt cum animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum. omniumque fidelium hic [7] ubique in christo quiescentium dapropicius ueniam peccatorum. ut acunctis reatibus absoluti. te cum sine fine letarentur. per ffidelium deus omnium conditor.

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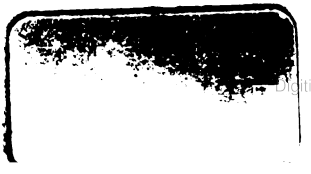

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